

# CLASSIFYING VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

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## 1. Introduction

The indigenous languages of Victoria are no longer spoken and for information on what they were like we are mainly reliant on nineteenth century materials. The only exception is Hercus 1969/1986, which is based on field work carried out among the last speakers in the nineteen sixties and which consists of grammatical and lexical data on Wemba-Wemba, Wergaia and Madhi-Madhi, plus small vocabularies in several other languages.

At the present time the Koori people are beginning to show considerable interest in their linguistic heritage and a number of groups are learning what they can from the nineteenth century records. However, these records can be difficult to interpret in terms of how they represent speech sounds and in terms of how they designate the language of particular groups. We will be dealing with the problem of interpreting the amateur notations of the past in another place. Suffice it to say here that it is a pity that the colonisers were speakers of English, a language that lacks any consistent means of representing vowel sounds. If Australia had been taken over by speakers of practically any other language, we would not have the problems we do in interpreting the notation of vowels in the early sources.

With regard to the problem of which language the sources represent it needs to be said that the sources bear one or more of the following designations: a 'language' name, a 'tribe' name or a location. For Victoria there are hundreds of sources that need to be identified and grouped.

Aboriginal language names in Victoria tend to be descriptive of the speech of a particular group. In northern Victoria names are often reduplicated forms of the word for 'no'. For example Ladji-Ladji designates people who used **ladji** as the word for 'no'<sup>1</sup>. In southern and central Victoria names are often compounds in which the second element is a form of **tjalayn** 'tongue' or **wurru(ng)** 'mouth/lips'. The language of the Hamilton area is Tjapwurrung where **tjaap** means 'soft' or 'broad' (Dawson 1881:2) and **wurrung** is used to mean language.

It is convenient to use the term 'tongue' for the entities that these Aboriginal names refer to. The main point of this is to avoid the dichotomy between language and dialect. A tongue could be a language or a dialect of a language. In some instances it is uncertain what the status of a source or group of sources is vis-à-vis the language/dialect distinction. It may be misleading to speak of a 'language' and insidious to use the term 'dialect' without specifying

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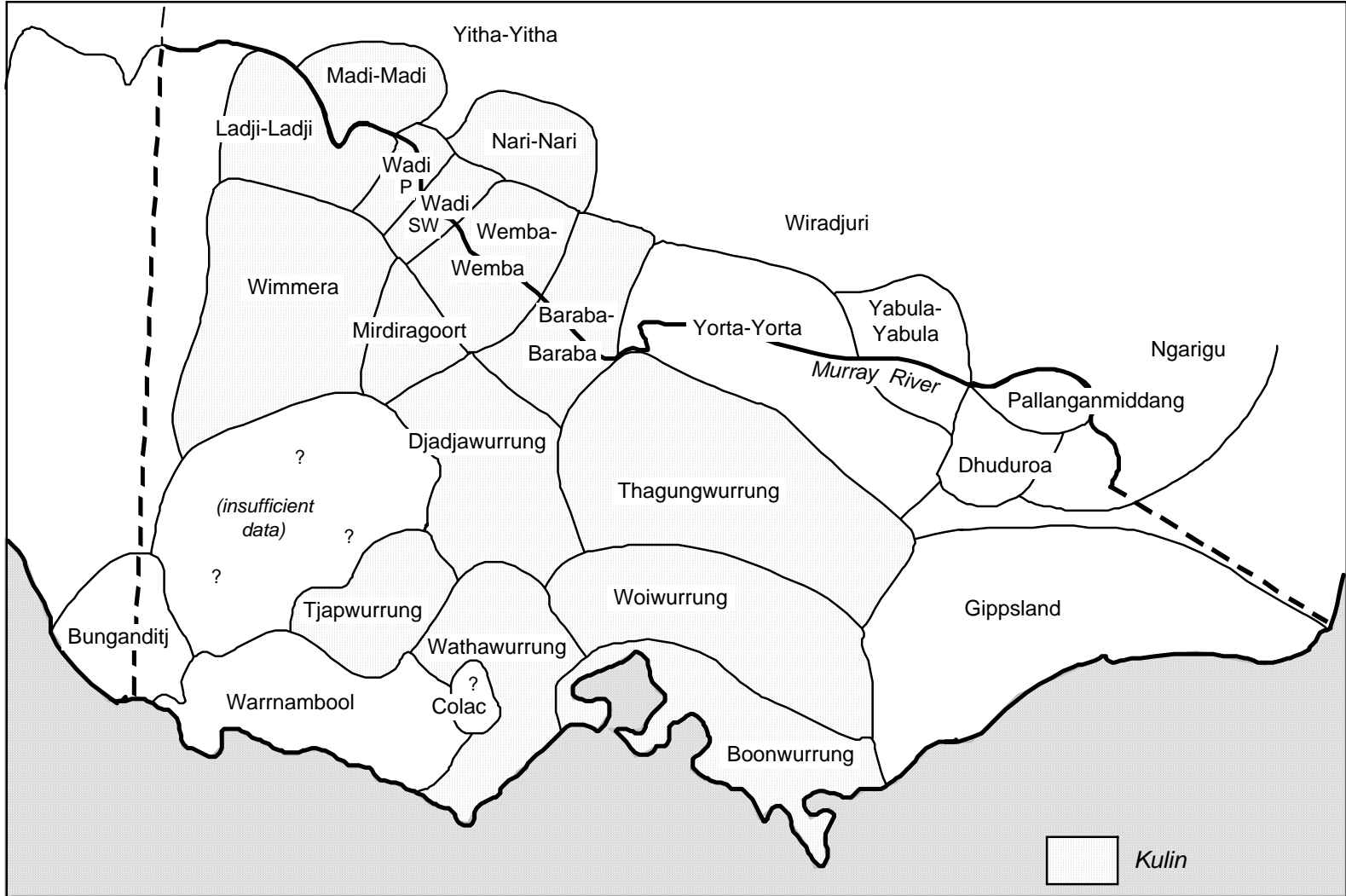
<sup>1</sup> The transcription is broad phonetic rather than strictly phonemic. Dentals are represented by digraphs with **h**: **th** or **dh** (the voicing not being phonemic) and **nh**. Retroflexes by digraphs with **r**: **rt** or **rd**, **rn** and **rl**. The palatal stop is represented by **tj** or **dj**, or by **yt** in syllable final position. The palatal nasal is represented by **ny**, but by **yn** in syllable-final position. It is likely that palatals and dentals are not always phonemically distinct. Six vowels are used: **i**, **e**, **a**, **o**, **u** and **ʻ**, this last only in transcriptions from Hercus. It is not certain that all these distinctions are phonemic. A double **rr** represents a flap/trill and a single **r** a glide. Hercus is the only source to make the distinction. A capital **R** stands for an indeterminate rhotic.

what language the source is a dialect of, since this echoes the perjorative sense of 'dialect' in popular usage where Aboriginal people have only 'dialects' never 'languages'.

In practice, tongues are usually small and relatively homogeneous, and when we compare tongues we find various degrees of similarity such that we would want to classify them into dialect groups, languages, languages groups and so on. Although Aboriginal people were aware of various degrees of affinity between tongues they did not normally have names for any grouping of tongues. In classifying tongues we have in most instances used European geographical names as labels, labels such as Wimmera language, Central Victorian language, and so on.

The sources often bear labels designating groups of people and these names are often associated with the term 'tribe'. The term 'tribe' is problematic and the labels in the sources usually refer to an entity smaller than what one could reasonably call a tribe. They seem to refer in most cases to clans.

The method of grouping the sources with their mixture of 'language' names, 'tribe' names and place names is essentially lexicostatistical. This means estimating the percentage of common vocabulary between various sources. At its crudest this technique does not distinguish between cognates and borrowings. This means that it may prove an unreliable guide to genetic affinity and an even less reliable guide to subgrouping, but it does provide an accurate synchronic guide to degrees of closeness, and presumably approximates to the degrees of affinity felt by the speakers themselves. In carrying out this classification we began by simply comparing the raw lexical data. We found it difficult even with experience to distinguish borrowings from cognates, but we did find that we had to revise our initial counts on discovering that a few sources seemed to mix words from more than one tongue. We also took into account grammatical forms: pronouns, interrogative words, tense/aspect suffixes, etc. These undoubtedly give a better guide to genetic affinity than do ordinary lexical items, but in practice we did not find much reason to revise our classification in light of cognate function forms. We have also looked for common innovations as a guide to subgrouping, but subgrouping is fraught with difficulty. Some suggestions can be found in the following sections.



*Map: Languages of Victoria*

## **2. The classification**

This classification is based on unpublished work by R.M.W. Dixon (see also Dixon et al.: to appear) and differs from his classification mainly in that it elaborates it, illustrates it and incorporates some previously undiscovered sources.

All the languages of the Australian mainland, save for most of those found in the Kimberleys and the Top End, belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, where 'family' is to be understood as a lexicostatistical concept (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966). All the languages dealt with in this paper share vocabulary with other languages of southern Australia to the extent that they fall within Pama-Nyungan.

The classification recognises eleven groupings, eleven languages if you like, but in some cases we have data on only one dialect of a language. Pallanganmiddang is in this category. We have three short vocabularies, which agree very well. They probably represent a single dialect of a language, but since we have no other data, Pallanganmiddang emerges in our classification as a separate language. The eleven languages are as follows:

### *Western Victoria*

A single language covered most of western Victoria from the Murray in the north to Hamilton in the south.

### *Bunganditj*

This language was spoken in the far southwestern corner of Victoria and in the southeastern corner of South Australia.

### *Warrnambool*

The Warrnambool language was spoken in the Warrnambool area from the Glenelg in the west to the Hopkins in the east, probably as far east as Airey's inlet.

### *Colac*

The Colac language was spoken over a comparatively small area around Colac.

### *Wathawurrung*

This language was spoken along the coast from Airey's inlet to the Werribee River and extended inland to Ballarat and Beaufort.

### *Central Victoria*

A single language was spoken from Westernport Bay in the south nearly to Echuca in the north. There were two main dialects, Woiwurrung south of the Great Dividing Range and Thagungwurrung to the north.

### *Yorta-Yorta*

Yorta-Yorta was spoken in an area extending east from Echuca along the Murray towards Tocumwal and extending north towards Deniliquin in New South Wales and south towards Shepparton in Victoria.

### *Yabula-Yabula*

Yabula-Yabula was spoken in the Murray Valley to the east of Yorta-Yorta.

### *Dhudhuroa*

Dhudhuroa was spoken on the Upper Murray from Albury to Jingellic and on the Mitta-Mitta and Kiewa rivers.

### *Pallanganmiddang*

The exact location of Pallanganmiddang is obscure, but it was spoken on the upper Murray and seems to have been close to Dhudhuroa.

### *Gippsland*

One language was spoken over the whole of Gippsland. No study of this language has been undertaken by the authors. All the references here are from Fesl 1985.

The present work does not cover some languages from the borders of Victoria, Yitha-Yitha in the north west and Ngarigu in the north east (see map). These are sharply differentiated from any of the eleven languages that are included in the present paper.

Table 1 gives percentages of common vocabulary between these languages. All counts are based on at least 100 words of common vocabulary, except those involving Yabula-Yabula where the sources are scanty. As can be seen, all the proposed languages are quite separate, with no two sharing over 50%.

## 3. Notes on the languages

### 3.1 Western Victoria

This is a kind of mega-language that covered an extensive area in Western Victoria from north of the Murray to Hamilton and nearly Ballarat in the south. Within this language it is possible to distinguish a number of different tongues. The list comprises Wemba-Beraba, Madhi-Madhi, Ladji-Ladji, Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill), Wadi-Wadi (Piangil), the Wimmera language (Wergaia), Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. Table 2 gives percentages of common vocabulary for these groupings of sources. All the figures are based on at least 100 comparisons except those involving Madhi-Madhi, Ladji-Ladji and Wadi-Wadi (Piangil).

	WV	Bun	War	Col	Wat	CV	YY	Yab	Dhu	Pal	Gip
West Vic	31	42	31	44	41	15	23	22	20	16	
Bunanditj		32	20	17	23	15	11	11	10	10	
Warrnam			25	26	30	12	16	10	14	18	
Colac				34	32	17	11	19	20	19	
Watha					46	15	15	14	16	18	
Central V						13	15	20	22	27	
Yorta							37	18	27	20	
Yabula								18	20	14	
Dhudhu									31	13	
Pallang											16
Gippsland											

Table 1: Victoria: percentages of common vocabulary

	WB	Ma	La	WW(S)	WW(P)	Wimm	Tjap	Dja
Wemba-Beraba	-	70	72	75	60	86	82	72
Madhi-Madhi	-	-	81	81	66	75	66	62
Ladji-Ladji	-	-	-	83	57	77	68	57
Wadi(Swan Hill)	-	-	-	-	64	81	71	65
Wadi(Piangil)	-	-	-	-	-	54	54	54
Wimmera	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	70
Tjapwurrung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81
Djadjawurrung								

Table 2: Western Victoria: percentages of common vocabulary

Djadjawurrung is the easternmost dialect of this language and, as the figures indicate, it is quite distinct from the other dialects except for its neighbour to the west, Tjapwurrung. It is marked by a number of distinctive words including the following: **ngilamun** ‘baby’, **nguRi** ‘big’, **pum-pum** ‘egg’, **poyn** ‘grass’, **yonong** ‘hill’, **wanhimuk** ‘small’, **wanyaRam** ‘water’ and **tuR(o)i** ‘woman’.

### 3.1.1 The Madhi group

Madhi-Madhi, Ladji-Ladji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) share over 80% of vocabulary with one another, which suggests that they might form some kind of group. They also share distinctive forms for first person (**yidi/yeti**), first person possessor (-ai) and third person possessor (-u). There are two tongues that bear the name Wadi-Wadi, one centred around Swan Hill and the other around Piangil, so we have designated them accordingly. Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) stands somewhat apart from all the other tongues of the Western Victorian language, though it scores better with Madhi-Madhi, Ladji-Ladji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) on average than with other tongues. It is clear, however, that it should be grouped with Madhi-Madhi, Ladji-Ladji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) since it shares with these three tongues the -u form for third person possessor and an -i suffix for the nominative. For instance, the word for star is *turti* in Madhi, Ladji and the two Wadi tongues, but *turt* in the other tongues of the Western Victorian language and also in Wathawurrung and the Central Victorian language (see also section 3.6). There are also a few lexical items that link these four tongues: **thinti**, **tjantji**, **tjantji**, **tjanthi** ‘nose’ (**kaarr** in other Western Victorian tongues), **karni/kanyi** ‘snake’ (**kurnmil** or **kurnwil** in others) and **maaki/maatji** ‘stone’ in Ladji and the two Wadi tongues (**laarr** or **kutjap** in other tongues; *kutjap* also occurs in Madhi). We will refer to these four tongues as the Madhi group, taking the name from the best recorded tongue of the four.

### 3.1.2 Core Western

The remaining groupings are very similar to one another and represent what we might think of as the core of the Western Language. Wemba-Beraba, the Wimmera language and Tjapwurrung all share over 80% of vocabulary and one might wonder if they should be distinguished at all, bearing in mind that particular sources rarely score much over 80% with one another. However, there are criterial words that serve to differentiate these three groupings. They are as follows.

Wemba-Beraba and the Wimmera language can be distinguished by certain words such as the following:

	<i>Wemba-Beraba</i>	<i>Wimmera</i>
(1) pelican	ninangkuR	patjinal
mosquito	liri	kiRk-kiRk
fire	wa(r)nap	wanyap
tomahawk	t(h)irr	patjik
kangaroo rat	parre	tjaleka
stone	la(rr)	kutjap

The Wimmera language and Tjapwurrung can be distinguished by the following criterial words:

	<i>Wimmera</i>	<i>Tjapwurrung</i>
(2) elbow	ngu(n)yuk	palutj
emu	kawirr	paRamal
fire	wanyap	wi
moon	mitjian	yirn
small	pa(r)n	watjipuk, wartipuk
swim	tjipa	yawa
woman	layurrk	paynpaynku
speak	kiya, wurreka	wuReka

### 3.2 Kulin

Table 1 reveals that Western Victoria, Central Victoria and Wathawurrung share nearly 50% of vocabulary. These figures are based on Tjapwurrung for Western Victoria and Woiwurrung for Central Victoria. We refer to these three languages collectively as the **Kulin** languages, adapting the term used by Schmidt (1919). The shared vocabulary includes a numbers of words that are exclusive to these three languages within Victoria:

(3) muRun	<i>alive</i>	miTHian	<i>moon</i>
THaTHak	<i>arm</i>	larn/tarn	<i>rib</i>
kalk	<i>bone<sup>2</sup></i>	purt	<i>smoke</i>
paNHul	<i>hill</i>	liyang	<i>tooth</i>
THilpa	<i>hit</i>	kurn-	<i>snake</i>
kuRng	<i>kookaburra</i>	paRing	<i>track, path</i>
kuliyn	<i>man</i>	wuRk-	<i>black</i>

At least some of these words are relics rather than innovations. The root **muRun** 'alive' is found in a number of languages from New South Wales; **kalk** would appear to be cognate with **kalka** 'spear' found in several Queensland languages; **kuli(yn)** may be cognate with various forms such as **kuRi** found along the north coast of NSW, and **liyang** 'tooth' is probably cognate with widespread forms such as **liRa** and **diRa**.

If we turn to grammatical forms to investigate the nature of the relationship between these three languages, we come up against a curious phenomenon with the pronouns. Over most of the area, excluding the far north, pronouns consist of pronominal forms for person and number attached to a common base. In Djadjawurrung, for instance, the singular pronouns are as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> Kalk is found in other languages in Victoria and elsewhere with the meaning 'wood', 'stick'.

- (4) 1. **bang-ek**  
 2. **bang-in**  
 3. **bang-uk**

These are literally ‘my person’ or ‘my body’, ‘your person/body’ and ‘his/her person/body’. The root that is chosen to serve as a base for the pronouns is no guide to genetic relationship. Closely related tongues often differ with respect to the pronoun base, and quite different tongues may have the same base. The base **bang** shown in (4) above is also found in Wathawurrung. Table 4 illustrates the first and second person pronoun forms found in the sources for Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria (Note table 3 and subsequent tables appear at the end of the text). However, although the pronoun bases are no guide to genetic relationship, we can use the bound pronouns, both the possessor forms and the subject forms, as a guide to genetic relatedness. Leaving aside the Madhi group, which do not appear to have had bound pronouns for subject, we can say that Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria share the following subject forms, which are exclusive to these three languages in Victoria:

- (5) subject singular 1. **-an** (**-anda** in Wemba-Beraba, Burraba)  
 2. **-arr**

With possessor forms we need to recognise that the Madhi group has separate forms from the rest of Western Victoria. The form **-(ng)ek/- (ng)ik** and the form **-uk** are exclusive to the Kulin languages, but **-in** is widespread.<sup>3</sup>

- (6) possessor singular 1. **-(ng)ek/- (ng)ik** (Madhi group **-(ng)ai**)  
 2. **-(ng)in** ( Madhi group **-(ng)in**)  
 3. **-(nh)uk** ( Madhi group **-(nh)u** and Woiwurrung **-u**)

We might also note in this context that there are some bound forms coextensive with the tongues of Western Victoria, namely **-ang** (dual exclusive) and **-nguR** first person plural inclusive. The pronoun forms are shown in tables 5 and 6.

Case markers are of little help in sorting out genetic relatedness, partly because our sources are defective and we do not have tokens of the full range of markers, and partly because case marking is quite variable from language to language anyway. What forms we could glean are in table 3 (given at the end of the text).

With verbs a future marker with a laminal nasal defines the Kulin languages. Our data is mainly from the sketch grammars of R.H. Mathews, who usually reports a past, present and future tense. The Kulin forms are as follows:

(7)		present	past	future
	Western Victoria	-a	-in	-iyn
	Wathawurrung		-ik	-iyn
	Woiwurrung	-unh	-a(dh)	-anh

A form that is common to Western and Central Victoria is the reciprocal marker **-djerra** in Western Victoria and **-djeRi** in Central Victoria. Wathawurrung has **-kiRi**, which may be related.

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<sup>3</sup> It is possible that **-ngek/-ngik** derives from **\*ngaki** with an assimilatory raising of the first vowel and a subsequent loss of the second vowel. It is also possible that it derives from **\*ngatj** with the palatal raising the vowel, as is normal, and the final palatal subsequently becoming a velar. Such a development is sporadically attested in various languages of Victoria; see, for instance, the entries for 'two', 'kangaroo rat' and 'hungry' (Yorta-Yorta) in the comparative table in the appendix. Note also the two forms of the name of the language of southwestern Victoria: **Buwandik/Bunganditj**. Forms such as **ngatjV** are found among Pama-Nyungan languages.

The ‘having’ suffix **-mil** is found in Central Victoria, Wathawurrung and the Western Language, but only in Djadjawurrung, Tjapwurrung and the Wimmera language. Wemba-Beraba and the Madhi group have a ‘having’ suffix **-wil**, which co-occurs with **-mil** in the Wimmera language.

Some of the distinctive pronominal forms are likely to be innovations and point to subgrouping, but the future marker with the laminal nasal is likely to be a relic. A future tense marker **:yn** is found in Bandjalang (neNSW, seQ, Crowley 1978:94ff), but more tellingly the following opposition is found in Thangatti (neNSW, Holmer 1966:75ff),

- |     |                       |              |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------|
| (8) | present/past punctual | <b>-in</b>   |
|     | future                | <b>-liyn</b> |

At least one verb in Thangatti has a future in **-iyn** and on comparative grounds the **-l-** is likely to be a separate formative, so the parallel between Thangatti and the Kulin languages is very close.

Hercus (1992: 1-5), following Schmidt 1919, uses the term western Kulin to cover what is here called Western Victoria and Wathawurrung. She divides western Kulin into three groups: the Wergaya group, the Wembawemba group and the Mathimathi group. The Mathimathi group corresponds to our Madhi group. The Wembawemba group takes in Wemba-Wemba, Beraba-Beraba and Nari-Nari. Nari-Nari (see map) is not included in our comparative table since the data is so scanty. What is known can be found in Hercus 1986: 152-8. The Wergaya group takes in all the other western Kulin tongues. The difference between the Hercus classification and ours stems from the fact that ours is basically lexicostatistical, whereas Hercus uses other criteria such as the use of a common base for all the persons and numbers of the pronouns, as illustrated in (4) above.

### 3.3 Bunganditj and the Warrnambool Language

Bunganditj was spoken in the far southwestern corner of Victoria and in the southeastern corner of South Australia. Smith (1880:ix) mentions five tribes each with its own dialect, but our sources cannot be differentiated into dialects on lexicostatistical grounds, though it is possible to distinguish a northern dialect from a southern one on the basis of a few lexical differences such as **kukuR/kamaR** ‘blood’, **pap/ngati** ‘mother’ and **kan-/lu** ‘mouth’. The name Bunganditj and the alternative **Buwandik** strictly refer to a single tongue spoken in the Mount Gambier area.

Bunganditj is clearly differentiated from the Western Victorian language; it shares only 33% of vocabulary with Tjapwurrung, for instance, the nearest dialect of the Western language for which we have data, and much the same figure with the other dialects, since the shared vocabulary consists largely of widespread forms like **thina(ng)** ‘foot’.

Bunganditj shares just over 40% of vocabulary with the Warrnambool language, 46% with Wannon, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language and 38% with the major sources for the other dialects, Dawson’s Kuurn kopan noot and Peek whurrong. These figures are high enough to suggest that Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language might be relatively close genetically. The two languages share a number of lexical items that are not found in the immediately surrounding languages. These include **wu(Rk)** ‘arm’, **wila(n)** ‘black cockatoo’, **thatha** ‘to drink’, **thaliyn** ‘elbow’, **kapiR(ng)** ‘emu’ (**kawirr** in Western Victoria), **paRayt** ‘girl’, **puthu(ng)** ‘grass’ (**puaTH** in Western and Central Victoria), **miriit/miRing** ‘ground’, **maRa** ‘hand’, **wanga** ‘hear’, **kapu(ng)** ‘nose’, **kuRamu(k)** ‘possum’, **iyiR** ‘rib’, **wul** ‘shadow’, **murn** ‘skin’, **kuRang** ‘snake’, **la(ka)** ‘speak’, **maRi** ‘stone’, **partpartkurt** ‘tomahawk’, **yanta** ‘throw’, **thanga(ng)** ‘tooth’, **paRi(tj)** ‘water’ and **mala(ng)** ‘wife’.

The Warrnambool language shares 42% of vocabulary with Western Victoria, which raises the question of whether it should be grouped with Western Victoria. However, there is not the same sharing of function forms that we find between Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria. If we count function forms across Bunganditj and Warrnambool, we find the two languages share 19 out of 37 such forms. The shared forms include widespread ones such as *ngal-* ‘first person dual’ and other relatively distinctive forms such as the following:

			<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>
(9)	case markers	<b>ergative</b>	<b>-a</b>	<b>-a</b>
		genitive	<b>-ngat</b>	<b>-ngat</b>
		dative	<b>-o</b>	<b>-o</b>
	pronouns	I	<b>ngathuk</b>	<b>ngathuk</b>
		my	<b>ngathangat/ ngathowat</b>	<b>ngatangat</b>
	possessor suffixes	my	<b>-(ng)ayn</b>	<b>-ngan</b>
		your	<b>-(ng)un</b>	<b>-ngu</b>
		his/her	<b>-(n)ung</b>	<b>-nyung, -yung</b>
	tense	past	<b>-an</b>	<b>-an</b>

On the basis of these shared function forms, which are not found in the Western Victorian language, nor in Wathawurrung nor in the language of central Victoria, we can say that Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language are relatively closely related within the context of Central and Western Victoria. As explained above, such a statement does not imply that they should be subgrouped. The shared forms may be relic forms. With the shared vocabulary it is clear that some of the forms listed above are relics. The form *maRa* ‘hand’ is widespread in Australia, but it is not found in other languages of western Victoria.

### 3.4 Colac

Common vocabulary does not give a clear identification of the affiliation of the Colac language. As can be seen from Table 1, it scores 25% with the Warrnambool language to the west and 34% with Wathawurrung to the north and east. Interestingly it scores over 30% with non-contiguous Kulin tongues: 31% with Tjapwurrung and 32% with Woiwurrung. There is practically no grammatical data available, but the following pronouns are recorded ( with some adjustment of the glosses).

		<i>nominative</i>	<i>genitive</i>
(10)	I	<b>ngathuit</b>	<b>ngathangit</b>
	we two	<b>ngathula</b>	<b>ngathangula</b>
	1st person ?	<b>ngathangoRok</b>	<b>ngathangangoRok</b>
	1st person ?	? <b>ngathanginak</b>	?

The first formative in these pronouns, **nga-**, is of no use, since it is practically ubiquitous within Australia. The second formative, which we have transcribed **-thu**, though there is no evidence for a dental, resembles the second formative in Bunganditj **ngathuk** and Warrnambool **ngat(h)uk**, but it must be remembered that **-thu** is a widespread formative in first person pronouns, singular at least, and since the Kulin languages have lost their free-form pronouns, it is impossible to say whether the matching with **-thu-** is significant.

The genitive of three pronoun forms is clearly formed with **-ang**, which matches **-ang-** in the Wimmera language (see table 6 and following). The form **ngathangoRok** looks as if it contains **-anguR-**, the bound form for first person plural inclusive in Wemba-Beraba (see entries for Wemba-Wemba and Burraba-Burraba in table 8). The formative **-ok** matches the exclusive marker, **-uk/-ak**, found in the Wimmera Language, Tjapwurrung and Wathawurrung.

A number of body part terms are recorded with the suffix **-nyenuk**. This is obviously a third person possessor form and its appearance in word lists matches the distribution of **-u** in the Madhi group and in Woiwurrung, **-uk** in the other Western tongues and **-atnin** in the Warrnambool language. A number of compound body part terms also contain **nyenuk** as in **leRe nyenuk ma** ‘fingernail’ where **leRe** is ‘nail’ and **ma** ‘hand’. This expression is probably literally ‘nail-its hand’. The form **-nyenuk** is likely to consist of a third person root plus a genitive marker. The widespread third person singular root in Pama-Nyungan is **NYu**. In some languages, e.g. Pitta-Pitta, there is a third person feminine root **NYan**. One or other of these could be reflected in **-nyenuk**. The match in form between **-uk** and Western and Wathawurrung **-uk** would appear to be significant.

The evidence from pronouns suggests that Colac is a Kulin language, but from the vocabulary it would appear to be a rather marginal member of the group. Its vocabulary contains a large number of words recorded only in this language (e.g. **puteRong** ‘baby’, **thaRong** ‘man’ and **part-part** ‘moon’) plus a few words reflected in non-contiguous languages which must be relics, e.g. **putjung** ‘egg’, which is shared with Wathawurrung and Yorta-Yorta, and **pun** ‘knee’, which is shared with Wathawurrung and Gippsland. The words that it does share with the Warrnambool language, the Western language, Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung are mostly widespread items such as **mama** ‘father’. Where Colac shares words that are not so widespread, it tends to share them with Wathawurrung. The most significant point about the vocabulary scores is the fact that Colac scores almost as well with non-contiguous Kulin tongues as it does with Wathawurrung. This tends to confirm the evidence from pronouns that Colac is Kulin.

### 3.5 Yorta-Yorta and Yabula-Yabula

Of the remaining languages only Yorta-Yorta and Yabula-Yabula score a figure that suggests a closer than average genetic connection. The figure of 37% in table 1 represents 27 matches out of 73 comparisons. Of these 27, ten were widespread forms such as **tjina** ‘foot’ and **yan-** ‘go’; four were part of a discontinuous pattern (see section 3.7 below) and must be considered relics, two had an areal distribution, and the remaining ten were exclusive to Yorta-Yorta and Yabula-Yabula and were basic items of vocabulary rather than fauna, flora and cultural items, all of which categories are easily borrowed. This suggests some genetic tie above the base level for two Pama-Nyungan languages.

A consideration of the pronouns tends to confirm this. Most of the data is from R.H.Mathews who may have mixed Yorta-Yorta forms with Yabula-Yabula ones in his published account of the latter, so only manuscript forms in Yabula -Yabula are presented here.

	<i>Yorta-Yorta</i>	<i>Yabula</i>
(11) <i>I (nominative)</i>	<b>nga(ya)</b>	<b>ngaya</b>
<i>I (genitive)</i>	<b>ngini</b>	<b>ngini</b>
<i>I (ergative)</i>	<b>ngatha</b>	<b>ngatha</b>
<i>you (nominative)</i>	<b>ngina</b>	<b>ngina</b>
<i>you (genitive)</i>	<b>nguni</b>	<b>nguni</b>
<i>you (ergative)</i>	<b>nyana</b>	<b>nyana</b>

There are further matches in the non-singular including a series of ergative forms marked with **-k**. Even allowing that we are dealing with widespread forms, the matches in details are prima facie evidence for the two languages being genetically related.

If we look at case markers, we find a match with an ergative marker **-k** and with an ablative **-in**, but overall the case markers do not match closely. With verbs there may be a match between Yorta-Yorta **-n** (non-future) and Yabula-Yabula **-(a)n** (past), but several markers do not match. We suggest that there is a closer genetic connection between these two languages

than between any other pair in northern or eastern Victoria. The ten matches in basic vocabulary suggest this and the matches in pronoun forms lend further support.

### 3.6 Sound changes etc.

#### 3.6.1 Velar augment

In the Madhi group, the Warrnambool language and the Central Victorian language a number of words that appear in Wemba-Beraba and other languages with a final vowel have a final velar nasal augment. For instance, the word for ‘tooth’ is *lia* in Wemba-Beraba, but *liang* in Central Victoria.

In the Madhi group a large number of nouns with a final consonant take an *-i* in the nominative. For instance, *turt*, which is the word for ‘star’ in Central Victoria and the rest of Western Victoria, appears as *turti* in the Madhi group. This *-i* is also found with words that take the velar nasal augment, so the word for ‘tooth’ in the Madhi group is *liangi*.

The reason for calling the velar nasal in question an augment is that it is opposed to velar nasals that occur not only in the Madhi group, the Warrnambool language and the central Victorian language, but in other languages such as Wemba-Beraba. See the last three entries in (12).

	<i>Madhi gr.</i>	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Warrnam</i>	<i>Bung</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i>
(12) <i>tooth</i>	<i>liangi</i>	<i>lia</i>	-		<i>liang</i>
<i>foot</i>	<i>thinangi</i>	<i>tjina</i>	<i>thinang</i>		<i>tjinang</i>
<i>hand</i>	<i>manhangi</i>	<i>manya</i>	<i>maRang</i>		<i>marnang</i>
<i>louse</i>	<i>munhungi</i>	<i>munya</i>	-		<i>munhong</i>
<i>mouth</i>	<i>wurru(ngi) (WS)</i>	<i>wurru</i>	<i>wurrung</i>		<i>wurru(ng)</i>
<i>faeces</i>	<i>kunang (WS)</i>	<i>kuna</i>	<i>kunang</i>		<i>kurnang</i>
<i>grass</i>				<i>puthu</i>	<i>puthung</i>
<i>nose</i>				<i>kapu</i>	<i>kapung</i>
<i>tooth</i>				<i>thanga</i>	<i>thangang</i>
<i>wife</i>				<i>mala</i>	<i>malang</i>
<i>track</i>		<i>paring</i>			<i>paring</i>
<i>knee</i>		<i>pathing</i>	<i>paRayn</i>		<i>paRing</i>
<i>tongue</i>		<i>tjaling</i>	<i>thalayn</i>		<i>tjalang</i>

The word for ‘tongue’ is **thalayn** in the Warrnambool language and the laminal nasal is found elsewhere in Australia. The word for ‘knee’ also appears with a final laminal in the Warrnambool language: **paRayn** (the **th/tj-R** correspondences are dealt with in section 3.6.2 below).

It seems that the velar nasal augment is found only on words of one or two syllables, but monosyllabic words appear to have had a long vowel, at least phonetically, so one could say the velar nasal is found only on stems of two vowel morae. The velar nasal seems to be another example of a phenomenon referred to by Hale in a well-known paper on the origin of the ergative and locative suffix alternants (Hale 1976: 416). Hale mentions that Uradhi and Wik Me’nh (Cape York, Q) and some dialects of Anmatjera (Arandic, NT) have a velar nasal augment on words that were originally vowel-final stems. In Anmatjera the augment is found only with disyllabic stems. It would seem that in Victoria a similar process occurred. It is worth noting that the process is reflected only on nouns and that most of the examples are from basic vocabulary. It should also be noted that in Central Victoria and in the Warrnambool language there are very few vowel-final nouns. It seems that the languages went through a period of making all nouns, or at least all disyllabic nouns, consonant final. Subsequently there may have been some borrowing from vowel-final languages.

In the Melbourne language the velar nasal appears to have been optional on some words such as **wuRu** ‘mouth’, ‘lips’ and ‘language’ (and on language names built on **wuRu** such as **WoiwuRu(ng)**), **kurna(ng)** ‘faeces’ and **tuRu(ng)** ‘heart’.

Given that there are some words such as **yaRa** ‘hair’ in Woiwurrung, which are disyllabic and end in a vowel, it is necessary to make a three-way distinction in reconstruction. One needs to recognise words that are purely vowel-final, words that were vowel final but acquired a velar nasal augment and words that have an original velar nasal.

There are some instances of words with a final rhotic taking the velar nasal augment. In the Madhi group the glide **r** is lost except in Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill).

	<i>Madhi gr.</i>	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Warrnam</i>	<i>Bung</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i>
(13) <i>camp</i>	langi	lar			
<i>eye</i>	mingi(L)	mir	mirng		mirng
<i>ear</i>	wi-mpula	wiri-mpula	wirng		wirng
<i>stone</i>		la(rr)			lang
<i>emu</i>			kapiRng	kapiR	
<i>nose</i>		karr			kang

It would be interesting to know whether the velar nasal augment is dropped before suffixes. Nouns take number and case marking or pronominal forms marking the person and number of the possessor. Unfortunately information on this point is skimpy. In Woiwurrung the velar nasal is retained before the third person singular possessor form -u, so ‘his/her hand’ is **marnang-u**.

In the Madhi-Madhi the ergative is **-ku** after vowel stems and **-u** after consonants, but nouns with the velar nasal are treated like consonant stems, i.e. the velar nasal is retained. Thus the word for ‘man’ is **wuthungi** in the nominative with both augments and **wuthungu** in the ergative. However, the velar nasal does not appear with the other case forms. The word **wuthu**, for instance, is treated like a vowel stem in the ablative etc. and takes the allomorph with an initial **k** that is appropriate for vowel-final stems: **wuthukunga** ‘from the man’ (after Hercus 1986:119). With possessor suffixes the velar nasal is not retained. Hercus gives **ngapungi** ‘grandmother’ and **ngapu-nhu** ‘his/her grandmother’ (1986:124).

R.H. Mathews collected grammatical information on Wamba-Wamba and Bura-Bura. This material identifies with what we are calling Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill). The relevant point is that the material relates to the Madhi group. Mathews gives the following case forms for the word for ‘man’: nominative: **wurtungi**, ergative: **wurtulu** and **wurtuli**, genitive: **wurtua**. Clearly the velar nasal is not retained when a case marker is added.

In Woiwurrung the word for a club with a ‘tooth’ on one end is **liangayil** where the velar nasal is retained before a derivational suffix, presumably a suffix meaning ‘having’. This word was used in English in the nineteenth century and may have been borrowed back. Hercus records **liənggəl** in the Wimmera language where the extra **g** looks like an accretion the word acquired in English analogous to the one that has been added in kangaroo. There are also forms such as **lia-wil** in the Wimmera language and Wemba-Beraba, where the ‘having’ suffix **-wil** has been added to **lia**.

Where the velar nasal fails to appear before a suffix, this is confirmation that it is an augment. Where it is retained, we must posit reanalysis.

### 3.6.2 Sound correspondences

An intervocalic laminal stop in Tjapwurrung, Wimmera, Madhi and Wemba-Beraba corresponds to **rt** in Ladji-Ladji, Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill), Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) and

Mirdiragoort (see map), and to an undetermined rhotic in Djadjawurrung, Wathawurrung, Central Victoria, Warrnambool and Bunganditj.

An intervocalic palatal nasal in Tjapwurrung and some Wimmera sources corresponds to an apical nasal in other Kulin tongues, Warrnambool and Bunganditj. At least some of these apicals are retroflex, but it is difficult to tell from the sources. These correspondences have been illustrated in Blake and Reid 1994 and will not be repeated here. Examples can be found in the comparative table.

### 3.7 Overview

The relative homogeneity of the Kulin languages and the fact that they cover such a large area suggests that they have expanded comparatively recently. This is confirmed by the fact that there are a number of cognates shared between languages to the west (Bunganditj, Warrnambool) and languages to the east (Yorta-Yorta, Yabula-Yabula, Dhudhuroa, Pallanganmiddang and Gippsland. Some of these are illustrated in (14).

In some cases a word found consistently across all Kulin tongues is found in just one or two neighbouring tongues. It is likely that this reflects borrowing from Kulin. For instance, **miRk** ‘egg’ is found in all Kulin tongues and in some dialects of the Warrnambool language; similarly **turt** ‘star’ is found in all Kulin tongues plus Yorta-Yorta and Yabula-Yabula.

(14)	<i>south west Victoria</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>eastern Victoria</i>
<i>back</i>	panu (B)	warrem, wart	panu (Dhu) panuth (Yorta)
<i>drink</i>	thatha	kupa, ngupa	thang- (Yorta) thaN- (Gipps)
<i>elbow</i>	thaliyn	ngunyuk, paluTH	thalung (Gipps)
<i>ground</i>	miRit (B), miRing	THa(ng)	miri (Pall)
<i>hand</i>	maRa(ng)	maNHa	maRa (Dhu, Pall)
<i>hear</i>	wanga	NHerna	wanga (Gipps)
<i>hill</i>	kaRang (Warr)	purrp	kRangaak (Gipps)
<i>nose</i>	kapu(ng)	ka(rr)(ng)	kawu (Yorta, Yab)
<i>smoke</i>	thuwung (Warr)	purt	thonga (Yorta, Yab) thuu (Pall), etc.
<i>who</i>	nganu (B), winya	winyarr	ngani (Yorta), etc.

In other cases a word is found in only one or two Kulin tongues plus a neighbouring tongue. This suggests borrowing into Kulin. For instance, most tongues of the Western Victorian Language have **paTHangal/partangal** as the word for ‘pelican’, but Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) and Wemba-Beraba in northwestern Victoria have **ninanguR(i)** which is obviously similar to **nenanggu** in neighbouring Yitha-Yitha.

There are some cases of words being found in one or two Kulin tongues and in one or more non-contiguous tongues. This suggests relic status. These examples tend to involve Colac, which may or may not be Kulin despite what we suggested in section 3.4, and in Wathawurrung. **PiRi** ‘breast’, for instance, is found in Colac, Central Victoria, Dhudhuroa and Pallanganmiddang. **KuRu(R)k** ‘brolga’ is found in the Warrnambool language, Colac and Central Victoria. Other examples, which can be seen in the comparative table, are **ngayuk** ‘white cockatoo’, **putjung** ‘egg’ and **pun** ‘knee’. Even allowing that Colac is not Kulin, it remains true that there is more differentiation, including more relics, in the southern part of the Kulin area. The most homogeneous area is the territory covered by Tjapwurrung, Wimmera and Wemba-Beraba. This suggests that Kulin expanded from southeast to northwest.

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### Notes to the tables

**Table 3** displays the case markers of Victorian languages.

**Table 4** shows the first and second person singular pronouns from all the sources for the Western Language and for Wathawurrung in order to display the the variety of forms, in particular the variety of pronoun bases. The principal sources are Hercus 1969/1986, Curr 1886, various papers of R.H. Mathews (abbrev. RHM), Taplin 1879 and Mathew 1899. The numbers accompanying some of the sources are the numbers of lists in Curr.

**Tables 5-9** display the pronouns for each language for which there is data. The third person singular forms are not displayed since the sources present a confusing variety of demonstrative forms. Where a genuine (non-demonstrative) third person singular pronoun is recorded it is usually a reflex of the widespread Pama-Nyungan form \***NHu**.

The **Comparative Table** (pages 31-59) contains 138 words which were well represented in the sources. This means that it tends to include all the items in Curr's standard questionnaire. Not every word in every source has been included. The transcription of the stops has been standardised with the voiceless symbols.

**TABLES 3-9 FOLLOWED BY COMPARATIVE TABLE**

	<i>ergative</i>	<i>genitive</i>	<i>dative/allative</i>	<i>locative</i>	<i>ablative</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	-(k)u, -(ng)u		-(k)a (oblique)	-(k)ang	-(k)unga
<i>Vadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)</i>	-lu, -li	-(w)a	-nthal		-nang, -nu
<i>Vemba-Wemba</i>	-(k)u	-kitj, -katj		-kata, -kal	-(k)ang
<i>Vimmera</i>	-(k)u	-(k)itj	-(k)a, -(k)al	-ata	-(k)ang
<i>ƆadƆawurrung</i>	-ng(k)u, -(y)u	-ng(k)a, -(y)a	-e		-nang
<i>Ɔunganditj</i>	-a	-(ng)at	-o (dative) -lon (allative)		
<i>Varnambool</i>	-a	-ngat	-o	-nung, -nguRa	-kata?, -ki?
<i>Vathawurrung</i>	-a	-ak	-iyu	-a	
<i>Ɔentral Victoria</i>	-(th)a	-(th)al	-uth, etc.		-u
<i>Ɔorta-Yorta</i>	-l, -k	-(i)n	-uk, -nak	-naRak	-in
<i>Ɔabula-Yabula</i>	-nga, -k	-ngan	-k		-in
<i>Ɔhudhuroa</i>	-ng(k)u	-la			
<i>Ɔippslan</i>	-(y)u, -tu	-a	-ia		-a

**Table 3: Case Markers**

	<i>first person</i>				<i>second person</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yiti		yinadu	-(ng)ai	ngindi		nginedu	-(ng)in
<i>Ladji-Ladji</i> Curr 202: Bumbang & Curr 203: Kulkynne	yati yanga (202)				ngina (203)			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i> RHM: Wamba	yeti <sup>4</sup> yanta		yanayu	-ai	nginma		nginiyu	-in
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i> Beveridge: SH & Tyntynder (199)	yeti yanda		yanayu		ngina nginma		nginiyu	
<i>uncertain</i> Eyre: Boraiper	yetwa				ninwa			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i> Macredie: Piangil (Curr 201)	n(g)aldji				nandi			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i> Curr: Piangil (Curr 201)	n(g)iti				n(g)inte			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Hercus: Wemba-Wemba	yandang	-anda	yanteuk	-(ng)ek	ngin(tin) nginan (Curr 208D)	-arr	nginteuk ngun???	-ngin

*Table 4: First and second person singular pronouns in Western Language and Wathawurrung sources (continued over)*

<sup>4</sup> The forms **yeti** and **nginma** also appear in Beveridge: Lower Murray and in Beveridge: Riverina

<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208B: Lake Boga	walanyek				walaning			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208C: Moorerbat	walanyek				wanyin			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Stone: Lake Boga	walanyek				walangin			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> RHM Wuttyabullak	walangek	-an	walangangek	-ek	walangin	-arr	walangangin	-in
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208A: Moulmein	nayik				<i>niam</i>			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208E: Gunbower	nayik				<i>neen</i>			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Mathew: Gunbower	ngai, ngadj		yikek		ngindi		ngindi	
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> RHM: Burraba	ngatj (also Curr 208G: Kerang)	-nta	yekayuk	-ak	ngin (also Curr 208G: Kerang)	-arr	ngintayuk	-in
<i>Wimmera</i> Hercus: Djadjala		-an <sup>5</sup>		-ek		-arr		-in
<i>Wimmera</i> Hagenauer: Pine Plain	waluRek	-an		-ek	walungin			
<i>Wimmera</i> RHM: Tyatyalla	yuRwek nyungek	-an	yuRwangek	-(ng)ek	yuRwin nyungin	-arr	yuRwangin	-(ng)in

Table 4 continued

<sup>5</sup> These bound forms also appear in Spieseke and **-an**, **-ek** and **-arr** also appear in Hartman: Lake Hindmarsh. Spieseke also gives **ngan** 'I' and **ngarr** 'you' as free pronouns, but he also gives them as apparent suffixes in a verb paradigm: *wuReg-ngan*, *wuReg-ngarr*, etc. They are probably just the ordinary bound forms for languages in this area. However, the velar nasal is not too easy to explain, though we would expect a velar nasal in the original free forms from which the bound forms derived. In Spieseke's contribution to Taplin the pronouns **tjuRmik** 'I' and **tjuRmin** 'you' appear and these have been included in the table. In Curr's word list for Mount Hope: Panyool Dialect (208F) the first person pronoun is given as **ngan**.

<i>Wimmera</i> Curr 204A: Tatiarra	yeRowek				yeRowin			
<i>Wimmera</i> Spieseke (in Taplin)	tjuRmik				tjuRmin			
<i>Wimmera</i> Curr 207A: Lake Hindmarsh		-aan			tjoRmin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr 204B: Tatiarra	tjoRmek	-an			tjoRmin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winek	-an		-(ng)ek	winin	-arr		-(ng)in
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Dawson	winek				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Hamilton (207G)	winak				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Mt Rouse (207H)	winak				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung?</i> RHM: Wimmera	winek				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Mathew: Ercildoune	wangal				dalkukarr	-arr	dalkukwangin	
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Glenelg above Woodford (207D)	wan				wanyen			
<i>Tjapwurrung?</i> Mathew (70)	wan		wangak		warr			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Morton Plains (206)	nge							
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> RHM: Tyapwurru	bangek		bangordigek		bangin		bangordigin	
<i>Table 4 continued</i>								

<i>Djadjawurrung</i> Parker: Jajawrong Knenknenwurru	bangak				bangin			
<i>Djadjawurrong</i> Parker: Jajowerong	wan		wangek		warr		wangin	
<i>Djadjawurrung</i> RHM: Tyedyu- wurrung	wangan	-an	wangek	-(ng)ek	wangarr warr	-arr	wangin	-(ng)in
<i>Lewurru</i>	wangek	-an			wangin	-arr		
<i>Wathawurrung</i> RHM: Wuddyawurru	bangek	-ek	bangordigek	-ik	bangin	-arr	bangordigin	-in

*Table 4 end*

	<i>first person</i>				<i>second person</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yeti		yinatu		nginti		nginetu	
<i>Ladji-Ladji</i>	yeti, yanga				ngina			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i>	yeti, yanta		yanayu		ngina, nginma		nginiyu	
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i>	n(g)iti n(g)altji				n(g)inte, n(g)anti			
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	yantang	-anta	yanteuk	-(ng)ek	ngin(tin)	-arr	nginteuk	-(ng)in
<i>Burraba</i>	ngatj	-nta	yekayuk	-ak	ngin	-arr	ngintayuk	-in
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwek	-an	yuRwangek	-(ng)ek	yuRwin	-arr	yuRwangin	-(ng)in
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winek	-an		-(ng)ek	winin	-arr		-(ng)in
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangan	-an	wangek	-(ng)ek	wangarr	-arr	wangin	-(ng)in
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathu(k)	-nga	ngathowat/ ngathangat	-ngayn	nguRo, nguRak	-ngin	nguRowat/ ngutungat	-ngu
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngatuk	-u	ngatungat	-ngan	ngutuk	-ngin	ngutungat	-ngu
<i>Colac</i>	ngathuwit		ngathongit					
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bangek	-an	bangordigek, bangongik	-ik	bangin	-arr	bangordigin, bangongin	-in
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wan maRambik	-an	nugalik maRambayik	-ik	warr maRambinheR	-arr	nugalin maRambayinheR	in
<i>Yorta-Yorta</i>	nga		ngini		ngina		nguni	
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	ngaya		ngini		ngina		nguni	
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngadha	-ngadha	ngaila		nginda	-ndha	ngina	
<i>Pallangmiddang</i>					ngina			
<i>Muk Thang</i>	ngadha	-adha -adj	ngidhalung		ngin(du)	-ngin -in(a)	nginalung	

*Table 5: First and second person singular pronouns*

	<i>first person dual inclusive</i>				<i>first person dual exclusive</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	ngali		ngalidu	-(ng)al			ngaladu	
<i>Vemba-Wemba</i>	ngalein	-angal	ngaleug	-angalak	ngalung	-ngalang	ngalunguk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Ɔurraba</i>	ngal	-ngal	ngalayuk	-(ng)al	ngalung	-ngalung	ngalunguk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Vimmera</i>	yuRwal	-ngal	yuRwangel	-(ng)aluk -engalak	yuRwaluk (sic)	-ngalang	yuRwangeluk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Vuttyabulluk</i>	walungal	-ngal			walungalak			
<i>Ɔapwurrung</i>	winal	-ngal			winalak	-angal		
<i>ƆadƆawurrung</i>	wangel	-angal	wangel	-al	wangelang	-angalang	wangelak	
<i>Ɔunganditj</i>	ngathowal	-ngal			ngathowilal	-nga		
<i>Varrnambool</i>	ngat(h)ungal	-ngal			ngat(h)ungalein	-ngalin -ngalang		
<i>Ɔolac</i>	ngat(h)ula				nga(t)hangula			
<i>Vathawurrung</i>	bangal	-ngal	bangordingal		bangalak		bangordingalak	
<i>Voiwurrung</i>	wangel	-ngal	nugalngal	-ngal	wangan	-ngan	nugalngan	-ngan
<i>Ɔorta-Yorta</i>	ngalngin		ngalungan		ngala			
<i>Ɔabula-Yabula</i>	ngali				ngali			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngala	-ngal			nganda	-ngandha		
<i>Auk-Thang</i>	ngalu	-alu	ngalulung		nganangu	-angu		

*Table 6: First person dual pronouns*

	<i>second person dual</i>				<i>third person dual</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>ʼadhi-Madhi</i>								
<i>Vemba-Wemba</i>		-awal		-alak		-bula		-bulak
<i>ʼurraba</i>	ngulen	-wul	ngulayuk			-bula		
<i>Vimmera</i>	yuRwula(k)	-wul	yuRwangwula(k)		yuRbulang <sup>6</sup>	-bulang	yuRwangbulang	-bulak
<i>Vuttyabulluk</i>	walungula	-wul			walungbula	-buls		
<i>ʼjapwurrung</i>	winwulak	-awul			winbulak	-abulang		
<i>ʼjadjawurrung</i>	wawul	-awal	wangatak		wabulang	-abulang	wabulak	
<i>ʼlunganditj</i>	ngutpul				nunggul			
<i>Varrnambool</i>	ngutuwal	-wul, waR			tilakal?	-kal, -nda, -tja		
<i>ʼolac</i>								
<i>Vathawurrung</i>	bangbula		bangordiwula		bangbulang		bangordibulang	
<i>Voiwurrung</i>	wabul	-nybul	nugalbul	-mbul	munyi guRabil	-nybulayn	nugalubulayn	-bulayn
<i>ʼorta-Yorta</i>	bula		bulan					
<i>ʼabula-Yabula</i>	bula		bulan					
<i>ʼhudhuroa</i>	bula	-uba			bungga	-ula		
<i>ʼuk-Thang</i>		-mba			bula	-bula	bulalung	

*Table 7: Second and third person dual pronouns*

	<i>first person plural inclusive</i>				<i>first person plural exclusive</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yangurr			-ngurra			yinadu (=sg)	-ngandang (WW)
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	yangurrein	-angurr	yangurreug	-angurrak	yangurrang	-angurrang	yandeug	-andak
<i>Burraba</i>	yangur	-anguR-(gat)	yangurRiyuk	anguR-(ak)	yandang (=sg)	-anda (=sg)	yandiyuk	-andak, andang
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwenguRak	-ngu(R)	yuRwangenguRak	(e)(ng)uR-ak	yuRwendak	-andang	yuRwangendak	-(ng)andak
<i>tyabulluk</i>	walungaRa				walungandak			
<i>wurrung</i>	winanguRa	-angu			winanguRak	-anda, -angu		
<i>djawurrung</i>	wanguR	-anguR	wangenguRak		wandang	-angandang	wangendak wangandik	
<i>gandij</i>	ngathowe	-nge			ngathowile	-nge		
<i>rnambool</i>	ngat(h)ungan	-ngan			ngat(h)unganin	-nganin		
<i>Colac</i>	ngadongoRak		ngadongongoRak					
<i>thawurrung</i>	bangadak		bangordingadak		bangwudjak		bangordiwudjak	
<i>iwurrung</i>	wanganyin	-nganyin	nugalnganyin	-nganyin	wanganyinyu	-nganyinyu	nugalnganyinyu	-nganyinyu
<i>Yorta-Yorta</i>	nyuwanda		nyuwandan		nyana			
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	nunhu				ngina?			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngandanginya	-mana			nganandha	-ngandha		
<i>Muk-Thang</i>	waRu	-waRu			warna	-warna		

Table 8: *First person plural pronouns*

<sup>6</sup> Also **yuRwoRokbulang**.

	<i>second person plural</i>				<i>third person plural</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>			ngunedu					
<i>Vemba-Wemba</i>	ngudein	-adj	ngudeug	-adak		-an		-djanak
<i>urraba</i>	ngut		ngutiyuk					
<i>Vimmera</i>	yuRwadak	-(aw)at	yuRwangadak		yuRwenak	-(an)atj, (g)itj	yuRwangenak	-(ng)anak, -djanak
<i>Vuttyabulluk</i>	walungadak				walungenak			
<i>ɟapwurrung</i>	bangut	-at			banganak	-atj		
<i>ɟadjawurrung</i>	wangat	-awat	wangathak		wangandi	-anatj	wandjanak	
<i>ɟunganditj</i>	ngutpula				nungpula			
<i>Varrnambool</i>	ngutuwan	-wan, waR			tilakanta?	-kanta, dja		
<i>Vathawurrung</i>	bangut		bangordingut, bangongut		banganak, bangtanong		bangordinganak, bangoditanak	
<i>Voiwurrung</i>	wat balak	-at	nugalngut	-ngut	malu guRabila	-uR	nugaludhana, munyigadhan	-dhan
<i>ɔorta-Yorta</i>	nhuRa		nhuRan					
<i>ɔabula-Yabula</i>	nhuRa				dhana			
<i>ɟudhuroa</i>	nguda							
<i>ɟuk-Thang</i>	nguRadhana				dhana			

*Table 9: Second and third person plural pronouns*

*Comparative Table: Victorian languages*

	<i>alive</i>	<i>arm</i>	<i>baby</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>bad</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>		thathak[i]		tuthi	puki
<i>Ladji-Ladji</i>			pupup		tjelegan
<i>Vadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)</i>	puRinya	t(h)a(r)tak[i]	pupu(p)	waRm, wart	w(a)ikeRu
<i>Vadi-Wadi (Piangil)</i>		taki	pupupi		puki, tjil(i)ka, waikatanyi
<i>Vemba-Beraba</i>	murrenta, muRun <sup>7</sup>	thathak	popeyn	warr´m	yathang
<i>Vimmera</i>	muRun	thatj-	pupup	warrem, wart	yatjang
<i>ˆjapwurrung</i>	muRun	thatjak	pupup	waRam, wart	yatjang
<i>ˆjadjawurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	ngilamun <sup>8</sup>	waRim	yaRang
<i>ˆjunganditj</i>	yurli	wu <sup>9</sup>	kun-	panu	w(V)Rang
<i>Vannon</i>		wuRk	pupup	weRip	ngamaRang
<i>Varnambool</i>	puntian	wuRk	pupup	wart, wiR(e)k	(ngama)kaliyn, ngamintja(rr)
<i>ˆolac</i>		kene <sup>10</sup>	puteRong		
<i>Vathawurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	wiRip, wulurn	nyulam
<i>Voiwurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	ngaRak	nyulam, matapi (B)
<i>ˆhagungwurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	ngaRak	nyulam, matapi
<i>ˆorta-Yorta</i>	thoana	poRinya	kothupka	panuth	mathi <sup>11</sup>
<i>ˆabula-Yabula</i>		poRiyn	kothupuk		mathi
<i>ˆhudhuroa</i>	maRpoa	katjinpa	pantjina	panu	kepeRi
<i>ˆallangmiddang</i>			kapika	kitha	mating(k)a, puRanta
<i>ˆippslang</i>		pirntang	lith	ngarak	tintin, tenpin

<sup>7</sup> Forms similar to **murrin** are found over much of NSW, e.g. Wiradjuri, Gamilaraay and Awabakal.

<sup>8</sup> Only in one source.

<sup>9</sup> In Bunganditj **t(h)aRawu** means 'left arm' (cf. **THarrak**) and **maRawu** 'right arm' (cf. widespread **mara** 'hand').

<sup>10</sup> Also given for 'leg'.

<sup>11</sup> Compare Bularnu **mathu**, Warluwara **matju** (western Q).

	<i>big</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>bone</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	tangi, withul, karrawi	puntatha	wurkirrim	kurrk[i] <sup>12</sup>	kalk[i] <sup>13</sup>
<i>.adji</i>	wirtuR, witap			kuk(i)	kalk[i], pimpi
<i>Vadi SH</i>	karrawi, kuRangkantu, muRpuR	punta	wuka 'dark'	kuRk[i]	kalk[i]
<i>Vadi P</i>	kaRawe		waikeRimpi	kuRki	kalk[i], pimp[i]
<i>Vemba</i>	kurumpit, koR(angk)antuk	punta	wurkatang, wurkatail <sup>14</sup>	kurrk	kalk, mert'rr
<i>Vimmera</i>	kurrung	punta	wurkirrim	kurrk	kalk
<i>ʔjap</i>	martuk, matjuk	punta	wuRwuRkanitj	kuRk	kalk
<i>ʔjadja</i>	nguRi	punta	wuRkuRong	kuRk	kalk
<i>ʔung</i>	wuRong	ngatha	monal, wurlu	kamaR <sup>15</sup> , kuRuk	pii, paa
<i>Vannon</i>	martong <sup>16</sup> , ngakel	punta	miyn	keRik	pakayn
<i>Varr</i>	miaR(ung), linggil	punta	miyn	keRek, koRi-	pakayn
<i>ʔolac</i>	palith, wamaRa	pung(k)aning		kuRuk	yiRping
<i>Vatha</i>	titapil	puntha	wuRkaRa	kuRk	nyail
<i>Voi</i>	wuRthapu, pulalu	punta	wuRkurtin, wuRkapil	kuRk, kuRmul	nyilang
<i>ʔhagung</i>	wuRthapu	punta	wuRka(R)apil	kuRk	kalk
<i>ʔorta</i>	tun.kutja	yin-	thaalanan	mawa	lilima
<i>ʔabula</i>	nguRia	yin-			
<i>ʔhudhu</i>	maRantu		thayukilu		piamanhu
<i>ʔallang</i>	pata			kuRu	kayila
<i>ʔippsland</i>	kuwaRail	punta	ni(r)npa	kRuk, ka(r)ntopaRa	pRing, prrang

<sup>12</sup> **KuRk** is found in Yitha-Yitha. Note also Gamilaraay **guway**, Wiradjuri **guwayn**; **kuwaRu** in the Mayi languages (Q) and **gurratj** in Jawoyn (NT). The root **kul-** is found among the Northern languages.

<sup>13</sup> **Kalk** occurs in Central Victoria as 'wood', 'tree'; note also **kalak** 'tree' in Gippsland. **Kalka** 'spear' is found in Queensland, e.g. Guugu-Yimidhirr.

<sup>14</sup> For the adjective-forming suffixes **-tang** and **-tail** see Hercus 1986:26.

<sup>15</sup> A form **kuma(R)** is widespread.

<sup>16</sup> Means 'good' in Bunganditj.

	<i>boomerang</i>	<i>bottom/buttocks</i>	<i>breast</i>	<i>brother, elder</i>	<i>brother, younger</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	wani <sup>17</sup>	mum-		wawi	perrat
<i>Ladji</i>	wani	mumi	kumpi, kutapi	wawi, muntunti	pampi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	wani		kuimp[i]	waw-	palaR
<i>Wadi P</i>	wani		kuimpi, tanti	wawi	
<i>Wemba</i>	wan, katam-katam	mum	kurrm <sup>18</sup> , tjang	wawi	kutni-
<i>Wimmera</i>	katim-katim	mum	kurrm, tjang	wawi	kutin
<i>Tjap</i>	tatum-tatum, litum2	mum, mulu	kuRm, tjang	wawi	kuti
<i>Djadja</i>	tatim-tatim	mum	kuRmp-	waRw-	kut
<i>Bung</i>	ketap-ketap, katam2		paap	waRkali	toti
<i>Wannon</i>	katam-katam	mum, ngali-nyun, paRiyn	ngapang <sup>19</sup>	warti	koko
<i>Warr</i>	letem-letem		ngapang	warti	koko
<i>Colac</i>			piRi <sup>20</sup>	tirta	koRompuyt
<i>Watha</i>	wan.kim	mum	tjuRam	wartung	wangat, tjitji
<i>Woi</i>	wan.kim	mum, pilik	piRm-piRm, piRin	pangkayn, wurntulung	thithith
<i>Thagung</i>	wan.kim	pilik	piRm-piRm, piRin	tati, pangkayn	parnumpi
<i>Yorta</i>	wanya	mutja	payiR	paanyupa	thatjupa, kitjila
<i>Yabula</i>	thalkuR			wawa	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wan.kewa		piRiwa	maRogani	ngulupamin
<i>Pallang</i>	wan.ki	tuRu	piRi	wawa	
<i>Gippsland</i>	wan.kim	kirran	pang, pak	prramon	than-thang

<sup>17</sup> **Wan-** and similar forms are widespread, e.g. Baagandji **wana** 'non-returning boomerang', Mari languages (Q) **wangal**, Kayardild **wangalk**.

<sup>18</sup> Cognates are scarce, but note **kulambi** in Yirandhali (Q).

<sup>19</sup> Forms similar to **ngapang** are found from Sydney northward along the coast of NSW.

<sup>20</sup> **BiRi** is found throughout NSW, e.g. Wiradjuri **birring** 'chest'.

	<i>bring/get</i>	<i>broлга</i>	<i>by-and-by</i>	<i>camp</i>	<i>canoe</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	mangkatha, werrpatha	kuthuni	tathi, tarti, kangu		yungwip
<i>Ladji</i>		kotarni	kalwa, tjilaluka	lang(i)	lunguwi [sic] <sup>21</sup>
<i>Wadi SH</i>	waiwa, mani-	kurtani	tarti	luRngi [sic]	yungkuwi
<i>Wadi P</i>		tuRkanyi	pawa	laingi	yungkupi
<i>Wemba</i>	paika	kut(h)un	kila, kathang	lar, ngaR(k), kuyintji	yungwitj
<i>Wimmera</i>	maneka, waiwa	kutjun	malupmia	lar	yungwip
<i>Tjap</i>	maneka, mutjaka	kutjun, nuRkuang	maluk	laR	yungkuip
<i>Djadja</i>		kuRun <sup>22</sup>	nyumitj(-paRak)	laR	yungkuip
<i>Bung</i>	mana, wampawe	wanti, purtmata		ngurla	wala, etc
<i>Wannon</i>	mana-wata-tayn	kuRun, kuRuk	kalu	wurn	thuRong
<i>Warr</i>	wampa(ki)	kuRun, kuRu(R)k	kalu	wurn	thuRong
<i>Colac</i>	koRantji-lantan ?	kuRu(R)k	tala		
<i>Watha</i>	mutjaka, kupuma	porrongkitj	malo, paRa-paRa	kaRung	yukuip, yinya-yinyu, yawut
<i>Woi</i>	wanthatji, tuapongka	kuRu(R)k	muluku	wilam	kuRong
<i>Thagung</i>	wanthatji	kuRu(R)k	muluku, malemal(thu)	yilam <sup>23</sup>	kuRong
<i>Yorta</i>	paya, yako(R)ma	kunukuthula	tjinyangkuma	manu	matha
<i>Yabula</i>		tawiRi	kanyangkuma	kuwa	putju
<i>Dhudhu</i>		piRangkanpa	mayangan	ngutjua	mautha, tuthu
<i>Pallang</i>	yanti	perang(k)a	yutaRa	mani, panto	m(a)utha
<i>Gippsland</i>	wanai, yaRapa	kuRakan	nawanthu, miRinthu, takuyt	pang, nguya	krri

<sup>21</sup> The initial **l** is strange. Note the lenition of the final labial stop before a following vowel in this and the entry below.

<sup>22</sup> Forms such as Djirbal **gururr** are common along the coast of Queensland and NSW.

<sup>23</sup> Initial **w** lost in Thagungwurrung; compare **inha** 'who'.

	<i>carry</i>	<i>cheek</i>	<i>cloud,light &amp; dark/thunder</i>	<i>cockatoo black</i>
<i>Madhi</i>			mengki, wapungurr 'd'	
<i>Ladji</i>		taiki	laaki	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	wali	teRk-	murnki	tjeRin (bl-red), wiRani (bl-yellow)
<i>Wadi P</i>				
<i>Wemba</i>	wer(')ka	muRek	marn 'l'mar(')ng 'd', tanpil 'd', tanmil 'd'	wiRan
<i>Wimmera</i>		taRak	mereng (=sky), tarnpil 'd'	kamatj, kiRin, kaRwil
<i>Tjap</i>	mutjaka	muRak	maRng	wiRan
<i>Djadja</i>		muRak	maR(o)ng	wiRayn
<i>Bung</i>	tjinipa	wuRaa, kana-waRi	murn(ong), murnmaRi(t)	pur <sup>24</sup> wila <sup>25</sup> , tRin
<i>Wannon</i>	ngurna, keRangu	tjakRan	murnpung (=sky), tharnpil 'd'	wilan
<i>Warr</i>	walata, wampa-	wang, thatha(k)	murnong (=sky)	wilan
<i>Colac</i>			maRang, murnong	
<i>Watha</i>	wama, tula	wang	turnmaR(a)ng	tjaRen, wiRan
<i>Woi</i>	waRongka(po)	wang	laak	yangkai, ngayarnong
<i>Thagung</i>		wang	laak	
<i>Yorta</i>	lupa	tamula	yuRatha <sup>26</sup> (=sky)	nyaRing, nyanang
<i>Yabula</i>			yuRathek	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	waRong(k)aRa		kaRayu (=rain)	nianyu
<i>Pallang</i>			yuwatha	
<i>Gippsland</i>	kurtpa	wang	nurt	nga(r)nak

<sup>24</sup> **Purt** is the first element of bird names in this language.

<sup>25</sup> Awabakal (NSW) **waiila**.

<sup>26</sup> Awabakal **yuRa**, Gamilaraay **yuru**, Wiradjuri **yuurruung**.

	<i>cockatoo white</i>	<i>cold (temperature)</i>	<i>creek/river</i>	<i>crow</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thinawi, kirrenti 'corella'	minti	tinti	wangi
<i>Ladji</i>	kawa	mintji		wang(i)
<i>Wadi SH</i>	keRangi	yepRa, poylinga, miRianyema	parniwaR(u), milu	wangi, waRangan
<i>Wadi P</i>	keRangi, tjuRanyi	tinangi		walatjali
<i>Wemba</i>	tjinap, kat(h) 'karr	pumpilang	piR, yalok, kapɔl	wa
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjinap, katjekar 'corella'		parr	wa
<i>Tjap</i>	tjinyap, katjaka 'corella'	mut-mut, mu(rn)mut	parr	wa
<i>Djadja</i>	tjinap	motangin, pantjal (=feel cold?)	puR	wa, maRangan
<i>Bung</i>	purt kaRa al, meR(a)n	munmon, murton, mut-mut	pawuR <sup>27</sup>	wa
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRakiyt	mu(r)t-mu(r)t	pukaRa	wang
<i>Warr</i>	ngayuk	palapetj, konketitj	puRang K, waRinung PW	wang
<i>Colac</i>		piRin	yaluk	kowakuRk
<i>Watha</i>	tjinap, katjaka(R)	piRin, murtangai, munmot	yaluk	waa
<i>Woi</i>	ngayuk, kaan	mutawi-, peRiyn 'winter', panthal 'feel cold'	yaluk, kurnung, wurnit	wang
<i>Thagung</i>	kaan	mutawi-, mutanga-, panthal 'feel cold', luRk-luRk	kurning	wang
<i>Yorta</i>	tjaRing	polkatj, mati-	tong(k)ala, kayila	waka, tangamai
<i>Yabula</i>	kaRang	poleki		waka
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kitaunu	kaRkatpa	tjeRingemo(R)	wakaRa
<i>Pallang</i>	kiya	pathawatha, puwatha	[ng]aR, kiRu	peRo(n)tha
<i>Gippsland</i>	pRaak	miRpak	kawitj	ngaRukal, wa(y)kaRa

<sup>27</sup> The similar forms in this column may be related; compare analogous phonetic differences in the forms for 'nose'.

	<i>cry</i>	<i>dark (d), night (n)</i>	<i>dead/die</i> <sup>28</sup>	<i>dog</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	numila	puingki (n), puinthe (n)	wikatha	kali <sup>29</sup> , wirrangan
<i>Ladji</i>		pontji (d, n) <sup>30</sup> , koli (d)	wika	kali
<i>Wadi SH</i>	lumla ( <i>or</i> tumla)	puRangi (d, n), kuRali (d, n), wuka (d)	thelpi-, piRa	wiRangin, wiRengkal
<i>Wadi P</i>		puRungi (d, n)	thelpi	kali
<i>Wemba</i>	numila	puruyn <sup>31</sup> (d, n)	wika	wirreng´n, wilkarr
<i>Wimmera</i>	numila	puruyn (d, n)	wika	kal, wilkerr
<i>Tjap</i>	yiRia, lumili	puRuyn (d, n)	wika, titjai	kal, wilka(R)
<i>Djadja</i>	maRi	puRuyn (d, n)	tiRiyang	kal, wilka(R)
<i>Bung</i>	lung(k)a	mul (d, n) <sup>32</sup> , murr(i) (n)	nuan	kal
<i>Wannon</i>		puRuyn (d, n), palan (d)	kalpirn	kal
<i>Warr</i>	lunga- <sup>33</sup> , wi(R)pa	puRuyn (d, n), kuRuwaluk	kalpirn	kal, purnang PW
<i>Colac</i>		puRun(h)a (n)	titak, patmaRi-	ngantu, quondok
<i>Watha</i>	lungawa-	muR?kal (d, n)	tirtak, patmaRi-, etc	kal
<i>Woi</i>	maRu-, martu-, etc.	puRuyn (d, n)	wayikaith, wiakuyn	wiRingan, yiRangin <sup>34</sup>
<i>Thagung</i>		puRuyn (d, n)	wayikaith, weRikai	wiRingan, yiRangin
<i>Yorta</i>	tanu	thala (d, n), mulok-mulok (d), thola (n)	kukuyn, yutanangi	paka
<i>Yabula</i>		yenujtj (n)	nothaRan	kurnau
<i>Dhudhu</i>		thukutjpa (d, n)	miRikini,	wingka
<i>Pallang</i>	kutjina	kayiwaRa (d), tuma (n), tana (n)	paRaRa	poa, naRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	nuuN	pukang (d, n), patkalak (n)	thertiken	paayn

<sup>28</sup> See also the entries for 'hungry'.

<sup>29</sup> **Karli** is found on the Darling (e.g. Baagandji) and in eastern SA.

<sup>30</sup> There is a problem with interpreting the notations ending in **-ingi**. Do they represent **-ingi**, **-ingki** or **-indji**? This applies to the Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) entry also.

<sup>31</sup> Wiradjuri **buurruundhang**, Dharawal (NSW) **buRa**.

<sup>32</sup> Compare Gabi (Q) **mulu**.

<sup>33</sup> The root **lung-** 'cry' is widespread.

<sup>34</sup> Initial **w** has been lost and a homorganic glide replaces it. Compare **wilam** and **yilam** 'camp', 'hut'.

	<i>drink, to</i>	<i>duck, black</i>	<i>eagle</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>eat</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kupa(tha)	tulumi	wulekil	wimpula	thaka <sup>35</sup>
<i>Ladji</i>	kupila	tulumi		wimpuli	tjakili-, tjawa
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kupa	tulum, tarnawaR	wiRpil <sup>36</sup>	wiRimpul <sup>37</sup>	tjak(e)la
<i>Wadi P</i>	kupa	thulumi, ngaRi <sup>38</sup> (wood duck)	wayapil	tjulantu/i	tjika-, thawa-
<i>Wemba</i>	kup(il)a	ngare, nini, noweRa	weRpil, pangk'l	wirimpula	tjaka-
<i>Wimmera</i>	kup(il)a	ngaRi, ngere	werpil	wirimpul	tjaka-
<i>Tjap</i>	kupila, ngupila	ngaRi	weRpil, ngaRayl	wiRmpul	tjaki-
<i>Djadja</i>	ngupila	ngaRi	weRpil	wi(R)mpul	thaka
<i>Bung</i>	thatha	purna	ngiRi	wRang	thiRa
<i>Wannon</i>	thatha	kRayn	ngiangkaRa	wiRing	thaka
<i>Warr</i>	thatha	thupuRung, moi PW	ngiangka(Ra), keRulet K	wiRng K, wing PW	thaki-
<i>Colac</i>	ngolika	thulum, piRiwong	ngolimeRik	wiRi?	kutjala, lutanat, wutka
<i>Watha</i>	ngupi	thulum, maRi	ngaRomka, waRawa, etc.	wiRing	kutja-
<i>Woi</i>	ngupa	tulum	puntjil	wiRing	thanga
<i>Thagung</i>	ngupa	tulum	puntjil	wiRing	thanga
<i>Yorta</i>	thang-, thaku-, poki-	tulma	wanmiR, kuRanyin	maRmu	thatji, matjimi-
<i>Yabula</i>	kongayang	wangirl	ngarta	maRam <sup>39</sup>	thaki-?
<i>Dhudhu</i>		tulumu	wanamaRu	maRampo	
<i>Pallang</i>	kunimanipa, pokerte	tuma	waRimu	maRampa	takathi
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaN-, kluk-	w(u)Rang	kwanamaRu	wRing	tha-

<sup>35</sup> The root **THa** is widespread.

<sup>36</sup> Awabakal (NSW) **wiRipang**.

<sup>37</sup> **Wiri** seems to be purely Victorian.

<sup>38</sup> Mirning (SA) **ngaRawa**.

<sup>39</sup> There may be cognates in the Tangkic languages (Q), compare Lardil **merral**, Yukulta **marralda**.

	<i>egg</i>	<i>elbow</i>	<i>emu</i>	<i>excrement</i>	<i>eye</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	miki		karringi, yumparli, yurantal		mir[i] <sup>40</sup>
<i>Ladji</i>	mik(i), miRki	n[g]unuki	kaR(a)wingi	kurnangi, kalingi	mingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	miRki	ngonyuR-, kaniw-	kurrwiyn, kuRwingi	kunang(i)	miR[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	maiki		paR(a)imali <sup>41</sup>	kunang(i)	maingi
<i>Wemba</i>	mirk	munyuk	kawiR, tjurungwil	kuna <sup>42</sup>	mir(i)
<i>Wimmera</i>	mirk	ngu(rn)yuk	kawirr	kuna	mir
<i>Tjap</i>	miRk	palutj	kawiR, yawiR	kuna	miR
<i>Djadja</i>	pum-pum	palutj	paRamal	kuna	miR, ma
<i>Bung</i>	kula, kuwa	thaluk, thaliyn	kapiR, kawiR	kuna	miR
<i>Wannon</i>	kule	thalayn	kapiRng	kunang	miRng
<i>Warr</i>	miRk K, mik PW, minyeung PW	thaliyn	kapiRng, paRaynmal K	kunang	miRng K, miR PW, ming PW
<i>Colac</i>	putjung	polon	paRi(n)mal		miR?
<i>Watha</i>	miRk, putjung, kayi	palutj	kawiR	kunang	miR
<i>Woi</i>	tiRantiR	paluth, kuRun	paRaimal	kurnang	miRing
<i>Thagung</i>	tiRantiR	kuRun	paRaimal	kurnang	miRing
<i>Yorta</i>	putjanga	kuki(R), nganangka	pikaRumtja	kuna	miyal, maa
<i>Yabula</i>			kotayami	kuna	maa
<i>Dhudhu</i>	thang(k)a	kaRanpa	maRiawa <sup>43</sup>	kunu	wantjapa
<i>Pallang</i>	puwa, poya	kaRaRa	maR(i)a	kuRa	mii
<i>Gippsland</i>	puyang	tjalung	mayawaRa	kwanang	mRi

<sup>40</sup> The widespread root is **mil**.

<sup>41</sup> Similar forms are found in NSW meaning 'swan', e.g. Gamilaraay **barayamal**.

<sup>42</sup> Widespread root.

<sup>43</sup> Similar forms are found along the NSW coast, e.g. Dhurga **maRia**.

	<i>fat</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>feather</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	paipul-	puika	mami <sup>44</sup>	within[i]
<i>Ladji</i>	pipula, kantjo		mamai	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	pipal-, piangwil	puika	mam[i]	wirten-
<i>Wadi P</i>	kalpinti-		mami	
<i>Wemba</i>	papul, mampul-, kurratj	puika	mam	with´n
<i>Wimmera</i>	pepul	puika	maam	witjan
<i>Tjap</i>	papul	puika	mami	witjin
<i>Djadja</i>	pepul-	puika	mam	wiRayn
<i>Bung</i>	murnpu(l)i	ponyi-	maam	wirtiR
<i>Wannon</i>	pepul	(pRangat) yungi-	pipai <sup>45</sup>	[ng]alang, tjaRat
<i>Warr</i>	pipul	yungkaya, yanta w/purt	pipai	kuRotnong K, turnong PW
<i>Colac</i>			mama	
<i>Watha</i>	koRityt, tjen, mampula	papwiRi-, taalen, pa'auRin	pitjaRng	kuRan
<i>Woi</i>	mampula, maRp	pulta-,	mama	kangan
<i>Thagung</i>	maRp	patheRempi-	mama, waRitj	
<i>Yorta</i>	waliktja	taati-	kaya, papu	tuno, wunutja
<i>Yabula</i>			pingalam	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kalanhu, kalimpu		mema	
<i>Pallang</i>	pataRa		mamka	
<i>Gippsland</i>	waniwan	plakatju-	mungkan	wirt wirt, paRa-

<sup>44</sup> **Mama** is found in the Western Desert language (WA, SA, NT).

<sup>45</sup> **Pipa** is not (?) found outside Victoria, but **papi**, **papa** are found in SA, NSW and Q.

	<i>fire</i>	<i>fly (noun)</i>	<i>foot</i>	<i>frightened</i>	<i>girl</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	wanapi	pithiki	thinangi	pampa-	paingkuk-murrunhi
<i>Ladji</i>	wurnapi <sup>46</sup>	pitiki	tjinangi		
<i>Wadi SH</i>	warnawi, wingkel	pirti	tjinangi		muRungkuR
<i>Wadi P</i>	wVnapi	piti	tjinangi		
<i>Wemba</i>	wanap	pithik	tjina <sup>47</sup>	pampa	
<i>Wimmera</i>	wanyap	pitjik	tjina	pampa	
<i>Tjap</i>		pitjik	tjina	pampa	panya, paRat, lanin kuRk
<i>Djadja</i>	wi	piRik	tjina	pampa	puni-puni
<i>Bung</i>	warnap, warnam	yuwal-yuwal, muloy	thina	yin-, yainuna	paRayt-paRayt
<i>Wannon</i>	wiyn <sup>48</sup>	manak	thinang	pampu-	paRayt, naRan-kuRuk
<i>Warr</i>	wiyn	wuRil K, minik K	thinang	ku(r)ninpa	paRayt-paRayt
<i>Colac</i>	wi	muRo(y)n 'march fly'	kenang <sup>49</sup>	mayn.ka	ngantapan
<i>Watha</i>	wiyn	tjutjut	tjinang	ngap-kunang, ngalpil-	murtimuntik, nyangakaypakuRk, nganyakuRk
<i>Woi</i>	wiyn	kaRakaRak	tjinang	pampa	puRnai, murnmuntik
<i>Thagung</i>	wiyn	kaRakaRak	tjinang	pampa	puRnai
<i>Yorta</i>	pitja	wawinya	tjina	tjiuman	nanyanpana, nyawaka 'small'
<i>Yabula</i>	kalao		tjina		nyawak
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ngiampanpa	mayangampa	tjinu	waRakana	weki, tjamakanpa 'small'
<i>Pallang</i>	kaRa	pampa, kuwatha	tjiRa	kamena	
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaweRa	ngaRun, pian	tjayn	tjinakan	

*goanna*

*good*

*grass*

*ground, earth*

<sup>46</sup> The vowel **a** becomes **u** before **R** also in **luRngi** 'camp'.

<sup>47</sup> **THina** is widespread.

<sup>48</sup> Similar forms are found in NSW and Q: Wangkumara **wii**, Wiradjuri **wiiyn**.

<sup>49</sup> Also given for 'arm'.

<i>Madhi</i>	nganurri 'tree', wathangi 'sand'	telki	wurringki	thangi
<i>Ladji</i>		talki	poatji	tjangi, tjantji
<i>Wadi SH</i>		talku, payu	wulngi, wuluki	thangi
<i>Wadi P</i>		piRimali, payu	wulngi, wuluki	thangi
<i>Wemba</i>	tjuling 'tree', watha 'sand'	telkuk	po'tj, yiing	tja <sup>50</sup>
<i>Wimmera</i>	ngangurr 'tree', watje 'sand'	thalkuk	puatj	tja
<i>Tjap</i>	tjulin 'tree'	thalkuk	puatj	tja
<i>Djadja</i>	yu(R)kun	thalkuk	poyrn	tja
<i>Bung</i>	yuRu 'ground'	martong <sup>51</sup>	puthu	miRiit, m(a)Raat
<i>Wannon</i>		ngutjung	puthong	miRing
<i>Warr</i>	walap, yuRuk 'blue tongue'	ngutjung	kaRiwan K, puthong PW	miRing
<i>Colac</i>		<i>tu-ker-noke</i>		muRa, tha
<i>Watha</i>	tjulin 'tree', yuRok	kunyipayn, manamith	paRa	tjaa
<i>Woi</i>		purntap, manamith	puath, panum	piik, naRap
<i>Thagung</i>	thuliyn	purntap	puath	piik, naRap
<i>Yorta</i>	paRyepala 'ground', piltjimtja 'tree', wawayt 'black'	kalinya, thoma talko	pa(R)pan	waka
<i>Yabula</i>		kaliyn	pelart	waka
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wuRuRa-djawa 'round', kuRutha/i 'tree'	kantja	muRu	kuRatpa
<i>Pallang</i>		kiyantji	kampaRu	miRi
<i>Gippsland</i>	pathaluk		pan	wuRk, waRk

<sup>50</sup> Gabi (Q) **tja**, Wiradjuri **dhaagun**.

<sup>51</sup> **Martong** is 'big' in Wannon.

	<i>hair</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>head</i>	<i>hear</i>	<i>heart</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	ngarra-	manha[ngi]	purrp[i]	tema(tha)	munt
<i>Ladji</i>	ngaRa-pupi	manadji, marnangi	pup(a)i	n(h)aRa-	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	ngaRa-	marna-	puRpi	teRpima	monRe(n)tu
<i>Wadi P</i>	ngua-poipi	manangi	poipi		
<i>Wemba</i>	ngarra	manya	puRp, murreng	nyerna	wutjup
<i>Wimmera</i>	ngarra	manya	purrp	nyerna, ngaRang-	wutjup
<i>Tjap</i>	ngaRa	manya	puRp	nyarn	wutjup
<i>Djadja</i>	ngaRa	marna	puRp	ng/nyerna	tuRung
<i>Bung</i>	ngarla-purp	marna, maRa <sup>52</sup>	puup	wanga	luu(ng)
<i>Wannon</i>	ngarlang, kurt, ngaRat	maRang	tarnti, kulan, pia	wanga	litj, wiRa-wart-nung
<i>Warr</i>	ngaRat	maRang	pim	wanga	linan
<i>Colac</i>	kan-moRak	ma	moRak	waa(r)tka-, natkiRi	
<i>Watha</i>	nga-muRk	marna	muRk	nya(R)wa	thuRung, tuRm <sup>53</sup>
<i>Woi</i>	yaRa <sup>54</sup>	marnang	kawang	ngarn.ka, ngaka	tuRung
<i>Thagung</i>		marnang	kawang	ngarn.ka	tuRung
<i>Yorta</i>	pukan	piyin	puko	nyarn?	puRa, tipa
<i>Yabula</i>		piRik			
<i>Dhudhu</i>		maRa	maRiawa		
<i>Pallang</i>	koRowa	maRa	puwa		pa(r)nteRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	lirt	pReth	pRuk	wanga-	pulkan tulet, pulpulka

<sup>52</sup> **MaRa** is widespread. **Mana** is found in Ngarigu and Dhurga (NSW); **mani** is found in Waanyi and Garrawa (NT).

<sup>53</sup> Jawoyn (NT) -**dor**.

<sup>54</sup> The absence of a final **ng** is intriguing. Hercus records **ngarrung** in Southern Ngarigu (see map). See 'whiskers'.

	<i>hill</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>heat/hot</i>	<i>hungry</i> <sup>55</sup>
<i>Madhi</i>	purpji <sup>56</sup>	taka	kathayi	wikatha
<i>Ladji</i>		tak-	kat(a)i	kanampan, kRinampan
<i>Wadi SH</i>	puRp-, panyul		karti, maipant...?	pia, piRa, kiRmampia
<i>Wadi P</i>			nangka, ping(k)un	tapun
<i>Wemba</i>	purp, panyul	tjilpa-, taka-, tawa-	tjalang(a), pari-wil	wika
<i>Wimmera</i>	purp	tjilpa, taka-		wika
<i>Tjap</i>	puRp, kawa, panyul	tjilpa-		milaya(ng), wika
<i>Djadja</i>	yonong	tjilpa	woimpa, wukukul	maRiyang
<i>Bung</i>	pupik, kaRipu(ng)	wina-	wuat, etc	tirtpan
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRang	purta	kaloy, thika	kalpirno
<i>Warr</i>	kang, pim <i>neung</i> PW	purta-	kaloy	kalpirno, partupang
<i>Colac</i>	paRap	thilpa		
<i>Watha</i>	panyul	tjilpa	kongat, ?	miRa-, tolpeli-
<i>Woi</i>	panhul, panmil, nguRak	tjilpa	wulun, tumpatin	nyiRepurtin, nyiRepRuin
<i>Thagung</i>	panhul, nguRak	tjilpa	wulun, naRwoRing	nyiRepurtin, nyiRepRuin
<i>Yorta</i>	puRp, yula, walawa	nyin-	titjiyt	mulanwitj, mulanmuk/tj
<i>Yabula</i>	walantha	lini-	tikati	milinmi
<i>Dhudhu</i>	pupuRa, mingkau-kanitha	tak-	meninha	pangunowo
<i>Pallang</i>	popuRa, padaRe	takana	koneta	pangwanapi, waRwanta
<i>Gippsland</i>	kRangaak	pantha-	kwaRakwan, kwaRakwaRak	mReman, kanyuk(an)

<sup>55</sup> Note that some of the words given for 'hungry' were also given for 'die/dead'. In Old English the verb **steorfan** meant 'to die', but its modern English reflex **starve** means 'to die of hunger' or 'to be very hungry'.

<sup>56</sup> See **purp** 'head'.

	<i>husband</i>	<i>jump</i>	<i>kangaroo</i>	<i>kangaroo rat</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>Madhi</i>		perrpatha	kurlu		patheng[i]
<i>Ladji</i>	layukil		kuyang(i)		pa(r)tingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	layulu, martum 'spouse'		kuRangi		parti
<i>Wadi P</i>	nupu 'spouse'		koRangi		
<i>Wemba</i>	mit-, nganitj	pirritjana	kurre	parre	pathing
<i>Wimmera</i>	nganitj	pap-pap-kuma	kurre, mintjun	tjaleka	patjing
<i>Tjap</i>	nganitj	papkuRmijan, tjultkaRen	kuRa <sup>57</sup>	parrutj, potjuk	patjiyn
<i>Djadja</i>	nganitj	piRp tjanin	kuRa, kurri	paRuk	paRing
<i>Bung</i>	nganap(u)(n)	yungkuya	kuRi, kuRa	paRuk?	paRayn
<i>Wannon</i>	nganap	papkupa	kuRayn, koRayt	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Warr</i>	nganap(urn)	kupam K, wurnpin K, papkupamin PW	kuRayn	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Colac</i>		yula-, kanpata-	koRa		pon-
<i>Watha</i>	lanapurn, nganapurn <sup>58</sup>	pilpuRiyn	koRa, kuim	paRuk	pun <sup>59</sup>
<i>Woi</i>	ngangkoRong	yuli-	kuyim, maRam <sup>60</sup>	paRuk	paRing
<i>Thagung</i>	ngangkoRong	yuli-	maRam	paRuk	paRing
<i>Yorta</i>	panyawut, winya-panayiR	yako-	kayima, puRa	ngaRinguRa, paRinuta, ngarnuata	yukun, yuRnga
<i>Yabula</i>			wartakau		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ningkulali		yuwaRa		thiminpa
<i>Pallang</i>	paynteRothu	popati	putju	kima	yuwa
<i>Gippsland</i>	pinang	kinth-	tjiRa	pRi	pun

<sup>57</sup> KuRa has plausible cognates in various Queensland languages including Ngawun (Q) **kuru** and Margany (Q) **kula**.

<sup>58</sup> Both these terms were also given for 'wife'.

<sup>59</sup> There are possible cognates in various Queensland languages: Pitta-Pitta **purnku**, Punthamara **punkulu**, Biri **punkur**, etc.

<sup>60</sup> Compare Gabi (Q) **maRi**, Warlpiri (NT) **mara**.

	<i>kookaburra</i> <sup>61</sup>	<i>lightning</i>	<i>long</i> <sup>62</sup>	<i>louse</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kung-kung	tuluwipa	thulangi	munhungi <sup>63</sup>
<i>Ladji</i>	kung-kung, kong(k)o			
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kowoRi, kung(k)o	milapu, milaku	tuRangkal	
<i>Wadi P</i>	kuRi			
<i>Wemba</i>	kurng-kurng	wayinlarr	tjurung	munya
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurng-kurng	wilem-pa-mernter <sup>64</sup>	tjuwerung	munya
<i>Tjap</i>	kowa(R)k, kuRng-kuRng	mila(R)kuk, wilimpak	tjuwa(R)ng	munyu
<i>Djadja</i>	kuno(R)k	milakuk	kapul	munya
<i>Bung</i>	kuwa(r)tang	minanmun		murna
<i>Wannon</i>	thaRkuk	wilim, tjoRut-nyong		
<i>Warr</i>	kunith	ya(R)wan K, maRthung K, wilimnang P	wuRumpi	paRum
<i>Colac</i>				
<i>Watha</i>	kowaRk	muRinyak	nyiRim	munya
<i>Woi</i>	kuRng-kuRng	tjiRingu	yuRpot, nyiRiRim, kanangnail, tung-tung	munhong
<i>Thagung</i>	kuRng-kuRng	tjiRingu	yuRpot, thaynkula (=tall)	
<i>Yorta</i>	wikilupka, turtjilupka	matjingkala, tjiRingkawa, kernyawa	tjuRungana	muna
<i>Yabula</i>		tjiRingkawik		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kukaRangka	naRawaanyo	kinyaRo (=tall)	munhuwa
<i>Pallang</i>	nganpapuwa	naRa		
<i>Gippsland</i>	kuwaak, kukokaRak	mlangpitj		muna, nyin

<sup>61</sup> The English word was borrowed from languages in NSW such as Wiradjuri **guuguubarra**.

<sup>62</sup> 'Long' elicits a variety of 'equivalents' including 'tall'.

<sup>63</sup> Similar forms are common in NSW: Yuwaalaraay **munhi**, Wiradjuri **muunhu**, Gamilaraay **munyi**, etc.

<sup>64</sup> On the basis of cognates in other languages this word would appear to be literally 'lightning and thunder'.

	<i>magpie</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man, old</i>	<i>man, young</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kurruki	wungi, wuthungi	nharrampin	
<i>Ladji</i>		wurtungi	ngaRampin	kulkung, pala(R)tji, tininuR
<i>Wadi SH</i>		wurtungi	ngaRampin	kulkurn
<i>Wadi P</i>		wuungi	pukungi, pukalki	paitu
<i>Wemba</i>	kurruluk	peng, kuli <sup>65</sup> , wuthu	nyarr'mp'n <sup>66</sup>	kulkurn
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurruk	peng, wutju	nyarrampin	kulkurn
<i>Tjap</i>	kuRuk	kuli, pang	ngaRampin, mati kuli	kulkurn
<i>Djadja</i>	kuRuRk	kuli, pang	ngaRempin	kulku(r)n
<i>Bung</i>	towol	tRual, wawakal	kotpaRi, ngaRam-ngaRam	papatha, muRungkal
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRi	koloyn	ngalanga, portpip	kulkun, nguith-nguith-maR
<i>Warr</i>	kiRi	maaR <sup>67</sup>	ngalang, ngaRam K	nguin-nguitj-maR
<i>Colac</i>	koRoRo	thaRong, montel		
<i>Watha</i>	paRwang	kuli	ngaRawil	kulkun, kulkul-kuli, kurt-kurt-kuli
<i>Woi</i>	paRawarn, paRawuRung	kuliyn	wikapil (old)	yan-yan
<i>Thagung</i>	paRawang	kuliyn	thaynkula (tall)	yan-yan
<i>Yorta</i>		yiyiR, yenpen	thaumunga	panyupka, tinta(R)ka, malnika
<i>Yabula</i>		pau		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kaRin-kingka	tjapa	tjiRipong	makatjuwa 'youth', yuwaRu
<i>Pallang</i>	payaRu	tjeRi	matika	yuwaRu, moRoka(r)
<i>Gippsland</i>		bRa, ka(r)nai	purtayn	pRa-wit, etc

<sup>65</sup> Compare forms such as **kuRi** along the NSW coast.

<sup>66</sup> For the form given here compare Dharuk *ngarombai*. Other terms are **tjeRipong**, **ngunyim**, **wanyim**, **wing(k)in**, **wunwul**, **wulman**.

<sup>67</sup> Forms such as **maRi** are found in Queensland.

	<i>moon</i>	<i>mosquito</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>mouth/lip</i>	<i>nail</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	mithien		papi	thep(i)	
<i>Ladji</i>	mitian	munayn, mowayn	papai	t(h)epi, mena	li
<i>Wadi SH</i>	mi(r)tian	muntji	papi	wuRu <sup>68</sup>	l(a)iru
<i>Wadi P</i>	tuRongoi, wayn.kapai	muntji	kornu, kukui	wuRu(ngi)	
<i>Wemba</i>	mithien, waynwil	liri	pap(i), kuingkurr	tjarp, wurru	lerri
<i>Wimmera</i>	mitjien	kiRk-kiRk	pap	tjarp	lirri
<i>Tjap</i>	yirn	kiRk-kiRk, liRi	pap	wuRu	liRit
<i>Djadja</i>	yirn	liRi	pap	wuRu	litji
<i>Bung</i>	purtpuy, tun-ngum, nyaRak	ketjo, kipa, muno-eRp	ngati, pap(u)	lo, kan-	li
<i>Wannon</i>	paRmpuk, thangkit	kituk, maRokaRa	nyiRang	wuRung, ngulang	piRiyn
<i>Warr</i>	kurntaRung K, yayaRa PW, paRanyanin K, , taRo PW	kiRk-kiRk maRwang(k)il PW	K, ngiRangai K, neRang PW	wuRung K, ngulang	piRiyn
<i>Colac</i>	part-part		paapa	wuRu	
<i>Watha</i>	yiirn, miniyen	nguya-nguya	ngartong	wuRu	t(h)iRip
<i>Woi</i>	mirnian, yampuk	kukuk	papa	wuRu(ng)	thiRip
<i>Thagung</i>	mirnian, yampuk	kukuk	papa	wuRu(ng)	thiRip
<i>Yorta</i>	yuRi, yonggatja	pitha	kanha, napo	kata, wuRu	tilpan
<i>Yabula</i>	yuRi	puRutj	ngakalam	wuRu	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wuRayu, paRaRu	kiRithu	papa	niwa. lenthewa	
<i>Pallang</i>	yuwaRa	molala, pita	pap	theRa	tiRiwa
<i>Gippsland</i>	weyn, ngaRang	tirtik, nyuwan	yakan	kath	thakeR

<sup>68</sup> Gamilaraay (NSW) **wuru** 'throat', Wiradjuri **wuurruu**.

	<i>neck</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>pelican</i>	<i>possum</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	ngani-	thinti	kiaka	pathangal	wilengi
<i>Ladji</i>	kuRinti	tjantji	kiapi	partangil, pulungal	wilangi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kurntu, tjakurntu 'throat'	tjantji[i]	kayap, yuwaya	partangal	wilangi
<i>Wadi P</i>	tulukanti 'throat'	tjanthi	yetna	ninanguRi <sup>69</sup>	panthenti
<i>Wemba</i>	kurn, nyani	karr	kayap, kepin	ninanguR	wile, pana 'ringtail'
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurn, nyani	karr	kayap	patjingal	wile
<i>Tjap</i>	kurn, nyani	ka(R)	kayap	patjangal	wili
<i>Djadja</i>	kurn	kaR	kayap	paRang(k)al	wila
<i>Bung</i>	kurn, kurn-tjawiRi 'throat'	kapu, kawu	wanthu	paRangal	kuRamu
<i>Wannon</i>	kurn, nanin, ngalum, takit-nyaan <sup>70</sup>	kapung	kayap	paRangal	kuRamuk
<i>Warr</i>	ka(r)t, narnin, ngalum, tala(R)k, yan	kapung	kayap K, kayapa PW	kartpiRap K	kuRamuk
<i>Colac</i>	kon, n(h)ani	kaang		muRwonkel	pung(k)u
<i>Watha</i>	kurn, nyaning	kaang	kuimoyl, kui(n)mayt	partangal	walert
<i>Woi</i>	kurn, thalapi-kurn 'throat'	kaang	kanpu	wandjil	walert
<i>Thagung</i>		kaang	kup(tun)	wandjil	walert
<i>Yorta</i>	ngu/atan, ta(R)n(g)kaka, tjia	kawu	iyawa	katin, thailipna	puna, patja
<i>Yabula</i>	kaRoik	kawu	waRangayn	kaRikart	tumpul
<i>Dhudhu</i>	pilitjua, nyanta	thintiwa		kulaikuli	tjawa
<i>Pallang</i>	nuRu, yung(k)uRu	nga	ka(Re)ti	kawati	paRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	thuluyt, nyanin, kurt, kuRek	kung	kut(o)pan	puRan, pRang	wathan
	<i>quick</i>	<i>rainbow</i>	<i>rib</i>	<i>run</i>	

<sup>69</sup> Yitha-Yitha **nenangku**.

<sup>70</sup> The Wannon and Warrnambool sources contain a confusing number of tokens. There is some uncertainty about which terms mean 'throat' as opposed to 'neck'.

<i>Madhi</i>	lirrka	tarrkuwil, kumangi	larning-	wuwatha
<i>Ladji</i>				papinan
<i>Wadi SH</i>	liRka, kiRki perting		leningi	wiRwi
<i>Wadi P</i>				waiwi
<i>Wemba</i>	kungayi, werrki	pampantilang	larngi	wirra, wirr(')ka
<i>Wimmera</i>			laan?	
<i>Tjap</i>		thaRaka wuRwuR <sup>65</sup>	lanyi-	piRpa
<i>Djadja</i>		thaRaki wuRwuR <sup>71</sup>	la(r)ning	wiRwi-
<i>Bung</i>	panpankaya, wungkunangu	tuRayn	iyiR, yiRang	w[i]Ra-
<i>Wannon</i>	peRip, yokinpalin	tuRaam	iyiR	wiR(e)ka, taRonin
<i>Warr</i>	maRat, maRaRan, wanguRa K, wetkurtin P	tha(r)n paRot K, thaRot paRut, tuRan, paRinanin	iyiR K	wiR(e)ka P, kaku...
<i>Colac</i>			koRinyiti	palakala, molokana, kuRa-kuRa
<i>Watha</i>	yuwapa, waRiwi	tjeR(i)m	(nyili) lirin	wati, palaka-lan... , kononyit, kalmangat
<i>Woi</i>			tarnin	
<i>Thagung</i>			tarnin	
<i>Yorta</i>	pirretj, puRketja, lawithema, wanyuwula	neRanoRma?	kangurt	yama
<i>Yabula</i>				paninya?
<i>Dhudhu</i>	weRani, wang(k)uRela	kalpiawa		pinela
<i>Pallang</i>				pona(r)te, etc.
<i>Gippsland</i>	wethuR, kuRthat-kuRthat	wiRakalanti	ngaRpuk	wintan, rinthan

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<sup>71</sup> 'Arm of sky'.

	<i>see</i>	<i>shadow</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>sing</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	nhanga, nhakata	ngaki			wangila, waingkilatha
<i>Ladji</i>	ngawa		kiyami		
<i>Wadi SH</i>	n(h)anga		keRami, maRka(R)	tulonyi	waRangka
<i>Wadi P</i>	n(h)atji		maRkantji		
<i>Wemba</i>	nyaka-	ngak	kar´m, malkarr		nyarrpa´
<i>Wimmera</i>	nyanga-, nyaka	ngak	kirram, malkarr		
<i>Tjap</i>	ngawa, ngaki	ngak	malka(R)	murt, mulup	ying-
<i>Djadja</i>	ngak-		malka(R), kiRamal	murt	
<i>Bung</i>	ngawaya, n(h)aa	wul	malka, kirram, etc.	mu(r)t	niwiya, ngaiwin-, nuRipa-
<i>Wannon</i>	n(h)ak-	wul PW, ngajui K	malka		liR[i]tpitj-, yanyin
<i>Warr</i>	n(h)awa- K, n(g)aki PW		malka(R), kiRam K	mulunit, mampit	liRpin
<i>Colac</i>	nitjula-, nika-		malkaR, kiRam	murt	
<i>Watha</i>	nya-	mula	malkaR, kiRam	murt	ying...
<i>Woi</i>	nganga	mula, yunak	malkarr		
<i>Thagung</i>	nganga				
<i>Yorta</i>	nhanha, natji	mul(a)wa	malkaR, monta	thulupka	payi-
<i>Yabula</i>	nakal		palart		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nhaka	maRayako	malkaR, piRkanpo	kapalo (=low)	
<i>Pallang</i>	nhaka		piRkanpo	(ng)omepaRme	ka(r)to
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaka	ngawuk	pameRuk, turnmang	tukal	waytpal-

	<i>sister, elder</i>	<i>sister, younger</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>sky</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thathai	perrati	ngengkatha	mith-	tirili
<i>Ladji</i>	tjatji	mianaki	ngewa-, nyenga	mitji	
<i>Wadi SH</i>		miani, minu	nganya, ngengka	mitj, loko	tiRili
<i>Wadi P</i>	tatui	mai, mikana, minuku	ngayangu	luko	
<i>Wemba</i>	tjatji	kute-	nyengka	mitj	tirril, wur-wur, tjarrang
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjatji	kutuk	ngenya, nganga	mitj	tirrel
<i>Tjap</i>	tjatji	ku(R)tuk	puRa-, ngenga-?	mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Djadja</i>	tjatj(uk)	kutuk		mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Bung</i>	tjati	nheRiR	nyiw(a)ia, (ng?)inga	murn	
<i>Wannon</i>	kakai	kokiaRa	ninika-	mitj	murnpul, murnpung 'cloud', wuR-wuR
<i>Warr</i>	kakai	koko-hiR (sic)	(N)inga- K, kupa	murn, mitj PW	murnung <sup>72</sup>
<i>Colac</i>	tato-	permpoRet, pang(k)et (=?)	pat-ka-		
<i>Watha</i>	tatjeRang	paRmpoRa	puRe, munku-	mitj, lapmak, etc.	wuR-wuR
<i>Woi</i>			ngalampa	thaap, maRok	
<i>Thagung</i>			ngalampa	thaap, maRok	
<i>Yorta</i>		kitjika, thatjip, putjika, paanyuip <sup>73</sup>	katju, kanu, kawui	wata, wawatja	tatala, yuRatha <sup>74</sup>
<i>Yabula</i>	ngaingeRam (=?)	thatham	makuR		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	mantakani (=?)	paRinika		waanu	
<i>Pallang</i>		tayika (=?)	kaRati	wata	tetha, yuwivila
<i>Gippsland</i>			nyi-, panengin?	yuwun	nguR(u)t, waRan/k

<sup>72</sup> See 'cloud'.

<sup>73</sup> All unspecified as to 'elder' versus 'younger'.

<sup>74</sup> See 'cloud'.

	<i>sleep</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>smoke</i>	<i>snake</i>	<i>speak</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kumpa(tha)	panthingi	puyuti	karni	yarna-, yarnkatha
<i>Ladji</i>	kumpa	pa(r)nikam	puRingi	kan(y)i	yarna
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kumpa	pan(maR)u	puRingi, poto	kani	lata-, weRi-, kaya
<i>Wadi P</i>	kumpa	paitayn	pu(r)ti	ka(r)ni	
<i>Wemba</i>	kumpa	witheyuk, martuk <sup>75</sup> , tulu	pur <sup>76</sup>	kurnwil	wurreka, kiya
<i>Wimmera</i>	kumpa, toRa-	paan?, tulu	puriyn	kurnwil, kurnmil	wurreka, kiya
<i>Tjap</i>	kumpa	wartipuk, watjipuk	pur <sup>t</sup> , puRi	kurnmil	wuRak-
<i>Djadja</i>	kumpa, nguRakul	wanhimuk	pur <sup>t</sup>	kurnmil	wuRek-
<i>Bung</i>	luma, kuma, wi-	muRuki	pur <sup>l</sup> uyn	kuRang	la-
<i>Wannon</i>	yuwat-	pukorn, kurtuwi, watawit	thuwung	kuRang	pRaipangnal, teromin
<i>Warr</i>	yuwa	kurnong K, kurni PW, kuniyi PW	thuwung	kuRang	laka-
<i>Colac</i>	kalaka	weRangayt	thuwung	kanlang	lampa-, ngonom-
<i>Watha</i>	kumpa	nganyakuRk	pur <sup>t</sup>	kurnmil	kela-, kutjel
<i>Woi</i>	yimu, ngaikul, karnampa	wayipu, wayikuRk	pur <sup>t</sup>	kurnmil	thumpa
<i>Thagung</i>	karnampa	wayikuRk	pur <sup>t</sup>	kurnmil	thumpa
<i>Yorta</i>	nanyupuk	yinganika	thonga	kona, takintjua	tuRel, lotjpa
<i>Yabula</i>	pirtilong		thonga	kono	loytpa
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nguRa-nguRa	panyagatji	thumpapa	tjutjua	
<i>Pallang</i>	ngaRa-ngaRa	ngampakanya, payumuna	thuu	tjuyu	ngomipaRo
<i>Gippsland</i>	perntin	thali	thun <sup>77</sup> , pawerndang	thuRung	thang-, thung-

<sup>75</sup> Possibly **mirtuk**.

<sup>76</sup> Clear cognates are elusive. Compare Parnkalla (SA) **puiyu**, Baagandji (NSW) **pundi**, Awabakal (NSW) **poito**.

<sup>77</sup> Hercus records **tun** in Dardi-Dardi.

	<i>spirit/ghost</i>	<i>star</i>	<i>stomach</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>sun</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	pungangi, puwik-	turti <sup>78</sup>	pili[ngi]	kuthapi	nhawingi <sup>79</sup>
<i>Ladji</i>		turti	witjopi, yami	maki <sup>80</sup>	ngawingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	pakiyn, ngurtangi	turti	wutju[pi]	maki	(na)nhawi, yuRoka
<i>Wadi P</i>		turti	pela-	matji, kantoki	nhayingi
<i>Wemba</i>	murrup, pungkantitj	turt	pili, wutjup	la(rr)	nyawi
<i>Wimmera</i>	murrup, purk	turt	pili, wutjup	kutjap	nyawi
<i>Tjap</i>	muRup	turt	pili, wanya	laa	nyawi
<i>Djadja</i>	muRup, kutjel	turt	puRingkup, putj	laarr	nyawi
<i>Bung</i>		puntjil, taman-taman, kaRantha	puli, puwi	maRi	kaRo
<i>Wannon</i>	muRup	kakathiRing <sup>81</sup>	puluyn	maRe	thiRing
<i>Warr</i>	muRup, etc	wutjuk K, kaka-thiRing K, minkil	thukung	maRi	thiRing K, nganong PW
<i>Colac</i>		kaRat-kaRat		tRi	naa
<i>Watha</i>	muRup	turt-paRam	tung	laa(ng)	miRi
<i>Woi</i>	muRup, naRun	turt	putj, piling, papkurn	laang, muyidjiR <sup>82</sup>	ngawiyn, ngaimai B
<i>Thagung</i>		turt	putj, papkurn	muyidjiR	ngaimai
<i>Yorta</i>	pika, etc	turta	puli, mona	iyoRka, punga	yuRingka
<i>Yabula</i>		turtu	potha, pontho	mopo	wo(R)ko
<i>Dhudhu</i>		tjimpoa	panthaRa	tuRupa	nawayu
<i>Pallang</i>		tjimpa	muRang(k)a, <i>ianaru</i>	punga	winpinpi, kunta
<i>Gippsland</i>	mRatj	pRi(V)l??	pulen	walang	wurriyn

<sup>78</sup> Straightforward cognates are hard to find, but note **dhurdu**, **dhuru** in the Mari languages (Q) and Mayali (NT) **dirt** 'moon'.

<sup>79</sup> Dhurga (NSW) **nowa**, Narinyari (SA) **nang(g)i**, Ngulubulu (Q) **nyangi** 'moon'.

<sup>80</sup> Yitha-Yitha **maak**.

<sup>81</sup> Compare **thiRing** 'sun'.

<sup>82</sup> See *tomahawk*.

	<i>swan</i>	<i>swim</i>	<i>tail</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>thigh</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kurnwarra	wirraKa	withang[i]	mangkatha, kanakatha	
<i>Ladji</i>	kunowang				paRap[i], tanti
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kunuwaR	wiRia	piRk[i], wirtmum[i]	mana	kaRip[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	thanapuki, thanaputj				kaRipi, poyap[i], kaingi
<i>Wemba</i>	kunuwar	wirraKa	pirrkuk	thirnta	kar'p-
<i>Wimmera</i>	kunuwar	wirraKa, tjipa	pirrkuk		kaRip
<i>Tjap</i>	kunuwaR	yawa	piRkuk	mana, mutjaka	kaRip
<i>Djadja</i>	kunuwaRa	wiRaka			kaRip, mulu
<i>Bung</i>	kunuwaRa, miRanguRu	yungk(a)ia	wuRum	mana	kaRip, pRani, pRam
<i>Wannon</i>	kunawaRa		wiRang, thaRath	mana	kaRip
<i>Warr</i>	kunuwaRa	yawin K, yanta, yana	wiRang	mana, wampa-	kaRip, pirn K
<i>Colac</i>		yawa-?			kaRi-
<i>Watha</i>	kunuwaRa	yulwaRi	toR(ok)	mutja-, kunga-	kaRip
<i>Woi</i>	kunuwaRa	yawa, yaRaka		kunga	tjiRong/tjaRang <sup>83</sup>
<i>Thagung</i>	kunuwaRa	yawa		kunga	tjiRong/tjaRang
<i>Yorta</i>	tarnapna, maalya, payamal <sup>84</sup>	yaRapak	kutjaika, nakin (=penis)	mana	muna, towo
<i>Yabula</i>	malai	maRitjang			
<i>Dhudhu</i>	maliwa		tjawa		
<i>Pallang</i>	mayiwa	yare kutte			manta
<i>Gippsland</i>	kitai	wiRa-	wRek, taRangkal	kartpa	tjaRayn

<sup>83</sup> **THarra** is widespread.

<sup>84</sup> Compare **paRaimal** 'emu' in Woiwurrung etc. and note Gamilaraay (NSW) **barayamal** 'swan' and Yuwaaliyay (NSW) **baayimal** 'swan'.

	<i>thirsty</i>	<i>throw</i>	<i>today</i>	<i>tomahawk</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>
<i>Madhi</i>		yungka(tha)-		pathiki	waingurru
<i>Ladji</i>	kunpuna-		kalwuR, taitikin, tartikima	patiki	murtuRu
<i>Wadi SH</i>	konam(i)a	muRuma	kili	parti	marnmarnapu
<i>Wadi P</i>	konamu/a		(tjali) naiki/a	thayini <sup>85</sup>	tayayu
<i>Wemba</i>	parngka	larrpa	kiluwitj	tirr	perrpuk
<i>Wimmera</i>	perngkunya	yungka		patjik	
<i>Tjap</i>	ku(r)nman	yungka	nhawiyu	patjik, pa(r)tik	peRpo-
<i>Djad</i> Spybot - Search			nhawiyu-mong	paRik	peRpi
<i>ja</i>					
<i>Bung</i>	kurnunayn	yanta, yungka	kirtu	mutjiR <sup>86</sup> , partpartkurt	kalipa
<i>Wannon</i>	kurtnang-, etc.	yanta	kaRumpa ting(k)alen P ?	partpartkurt	tungkata
<i>Warr</i>	kurtnan(a)	yanta	ma(ng)katepa	mutjiR, partpartkurt, kaRkiyn	malangipa,tungkati
<i>Colac</i>			naliang taRawart	pa(r)tpa(r)tkot	peRipantji
<i>Watha</i>	kurtnong-	yunga-	miRiyu	kaRkayn, kalpalingkuRk	yiRam-nyu
<i>Woi</i>	kunpuni	puimpa, yuma-	yaling-pu	kaRkiyn, muRing, kalpaling	yiRam-poi, puypuRuyn
<i>Thagung</i>	kunpuni			kaRkiyn	
<i>Yorta</i>	thaanga	yunga	kanang(k)o(R), imilang	ngana, tatjimpa	paRpaRik
<i>Yabula</i>			kaniwa	nakayak	paRipaRi
<i>Dhudhu</i>	tjakenawa	yeRiatha	nyinyanga	mutiwa	ngang(k)aRa
<i>Pallang</i>				nganti	
<i>Gippsland</i>	kwan(tu)	pRapaRa, pitawa		kuyan, theloat	

<sup>85</sup> Yitha-Yitha **thaRiyn**.

<sup>86</sup> See 'stone'.

	<i>tongue</i>	<i>tooth</i>	<i>track</i> <sup>87</sup>	<i>two</i>	<i>urine</i>	<i>walk</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thalingi	liangi <sup>88</sup>	limpu	puletha		yingatha
<i>Ladji</i>	thalingi	liang(i)	tjinanu			yana-, yawa
<i>Wadi SH</i>	tjaling[i]	liangi		puli, pulayt		yana, yawa
<i>Wadi P</i>	thalengi	n(h)aRoki	thinangi	pulatja		yana-, yangka-
<i>Wemba</i>	tjaling	lia	paring	puletja	kir	yangka
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjaling	lia	paring	puletj	kire	yana-, yangka-
<i>Tjap</i>		lia	paRing	pulatj	ki(R)i	yan-
<i>Djadja</i>	tjali	lia	paRing	pulatj	kiRi	yangka, kaRimpin
<i>Bung</i>	thali	thanga	waRi, thina	pulayt <sup>89</sup>	thalupang	yan-, yawia
<i>Wannon</i>	thalayn	thangang	wuRuyn, thinang	pulayt		yana-
<i>Warr</i>	thalayn	thangang	tharn	pulatja	kiRng	yana-, puRpa- PW
<i>Colac</i>	thala	miRi		pulatuk	kiRi	yanya-, yaRana-
<i>Watha</i>	thalang	liang	kanto(R)	pulayt		yani-
<i>Woi</i>	tjalang	liang	paRing	pulapil, pintjiRu	palk(a)	yana-, tuwi, tjitu
<i>Thagung</i>	tjalang	liang		pulapil	palk(a)	yana-
<i>Yorta</i>		tiRa	tapuRa, tana, muku-tjina	pulapul, pulthupul	kumwung	yanyupa-, yaRu
<i>Yabula</i>		taRawil		plathiR		yan-
<i>Dhudhu</i>		nayu	kaRika		tjiwa	yakamila, payila
<i>Pallang</i>		ngangaRu?	pantjan	polithap		yanapi
<i>Gippsland</i>	tjalayn	nga(r)ntak		pulaman	werrek	yangan, yanin(g)

<sup>87</sup> Some of the words given for 'track' are the words for 'foot'. It is not certain whether the entries here mean 'footprint' or 'path' or both.

<sup>88</sup> Lia is probably cognate with widespread forms such as **yiRa** and **tiRa**.

<sup>89</sup> There is also **puwayt** with lenition of the lateral, and also **pulak** with a final **k** in lieu of **tj/yt**. This alternation is found in the alternants **Bunganditj** and **Buwandik**.

	<i>water</i>	<i>what</i> <sup>90</sup>	<i>where</i>	<i>whiskers</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>wife</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kathini	nhangi, minhi	winthā	ngarra-	winhangu	mathim
<i>Ladji</i>	ka(r)tini, ka(r)tani		wintja	ngaRangi		matuni
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kayini, kayani	nganyu, nyange	wintja, winthala	ngani <sup>91</sup>	winyaR	martum 'spouse'
<i>Wadi P</i>	kayini, tanyi			nyani-, ninini		nupu 'spouse'
<i>Wemba</i>	kat(h)En	nyanya	wintja	ngani	winyarr	mathim
<i>Wimmera</i>	katjin	nyanya	wintja	ngani	winyarr	matjim
<i>Tjap</i>	katjin	nya	wintja	nganyi	winya	matjim, nata-, tjap
<i>Djadja</i>	wanyaRam	nyango	wintja	ngini, nga(r)ni	winya	maRam
<i>Bung</i>	paRi <sup>92</sup>	n(g)an	na	ngarlangarni	nganu	mala
<i>Wannon</i>	paRitj, kuwantam	nana	wintala	ngArayn		malang
<i>Warr</i>	paRitj	ngan(y)a	wuntha K, wintha PW	ngaRayn	winya K, ngaRa	malang
<i>Colac</i>	kan		wantalong	ngaN-		
<i>Watha</i>	ngupiyt (<'drink')	winya	wiya	ngaRiyn	wela	lanapun, n(g)anapun
<i>Woi</i>	paayn	winha	winthā	ngaRin	winhaRup	pirnpan W, winya B
<i>Thagung</i>	paayn	nganying	intha	nganyin	inhaRup	
<i>Yorta</i>	wala	minhe	wanhal, warrka	yaRing <sup>93</sup>	ngani	pulatjeRu
<i>Yabula</i>	pana <sup>94</sup>	minhe	wanhal		nganti	pantjaReReko
<i>Dhudhu</i>		minyua	thawuna, walu	yaRan(g)pa	nganka, nganpantu	wuRkat
<i>Pallang</i>	waRa		wantha	yaRa(na)		
<i>Gippsland</i>	yarn	nanma	wunman	yayn, yaran	nganinte	

<sup>90</sup> The interrogative roots **ngan-**, **wiNHā**, **wiNHThā** (locative of **wiNHā**) and **miNHā** are widespread.

<sup>91</sup> Pitta-Pitta (Q) and Diyari (SA) **nganka**. See also the entries for 'neck'.

<sup>92</sup> Pitta-Pitta (Q) **paripi** 'river'.

<sup>93</sup> Wiradjuri (NSW) **yaRayn**, Gamilaraay (NSW) **yaray**.

<sup>94</sup> Djabugay (Q) **pana**.

	<i>woman</i> <sup>95</sup>	<i>wombat</i>	<i>wood</i> <sup>96</sup>	<i>woomera</i>	<i>yesterday</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	layurr		kalki	karriki	kila nhawiki
<i>Ladji</i>	layu			kaRiki	tjilaluk
<i>Wadi SH</i>	layuRi			keRi, koRi	kaRalko
<i>Wadi P</i>	layuRki			tjayeki	kalko
<i>Wemba</i>	layurrk, lerrk		piyal 'red gum'	karr'k	tjelic-tjelic
<i>Wimmera</i>	layurrk	mutja	kalk	karrik	
<i>Tjap</i>	paynpaynku	nguR-nguR, mutja, miam	kalk	kaRik	tjaliki
<i>Djadja</i>	tuR(o)i	nguRe-nguRe	kalk	yeRik	thaliki
<i>Bung</i>	purle-purle	muRa		kumpayn	wurtu
<i>Wannon</i>	neRayn-kuRk	muRayn	lurt	ngaRung	ngankat, tRang(k)a(r)t
<i>Warr</i>	thanampuL	miam K	wurnkuit	ngaRung	ngankat
<i>Colac</i>	nutnuwit ? <sup>97</sup>		kuRuRuk		kalata
<i>Watha</i>	pa-kuRk	nguR-nguR	kalk	waR-waR, maRiwan	taliyu
<i>Woi</i>	patjuR, pa-kuRk	waRiyn	kalk	kaRik, maRiwan, tjiRam	yalinguyt
<i>Thagung</i>	patjuR		kalk	kaRik, tjiRam	yalinguyt
<i>Yorta</i>	winya, payapia	mum yanga	muta, 'tratyola', manuka 'branch'	yulwa	pikauka, iRak-piRak
<i>Yabula</i>	maRai		kalowik 'wood', woRokolik 'wood'		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	mala <sup>98</sup>			payuka	
<i>Pallang</i>	tjaRi	nawaRa			
<i>Gippsland</i>	wuRkat, Rukat	nhaRut	kalak	maRiwan	(mal)pukang, waRan, ngintawa

<sup>95</sup> The form **kuRk** in this column means 'female'.

<sup>96</sup> Wood in its capacity as fuel for a fire is designated by the word for fire. Such terms are not included here. See also 'bone'.

<sup>97</sup> This looks like an error. The form given may be a second person pronoun.

<sup>98</sup> See **mala** 'wife'.